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## A FOLKLORE EXPEDITION TO MEXICO<sup>1</sup>

by Ralph Steele Boggs

### TRIP

Early in June, 1938, with bibliography, books and notes on Mexican folklore in my car trunk, and provided with gasoline money by the University's Smith Fund's generosity, I set out from Chapel Hill. I arrived, after some 1,400 hot miles, at the University of Texas, in Austin, whose library contains one of the finest collections on Mexico, particularly history, to be found anywhere. Here one finds the most widely known folklore authority on the Mexican border country, Frank Dobie, editor of the *Texas folklore society publications*. He had much valuable advice and additional bibliography to offer me. But I was still nearly a thousand miles from Mexico City, so I hurried on, through San Antonio, where many Mexican broadside ballads and other literature of pertinent and impertinent interest to Mexican folklore have been published, and crossed the border at Laredo. I rode through the sparsely populated desert country of northern Mexico, whose peoples the more southern Mexican regards as contaminated with Yankeeism. Southward I descended through dense tropical jungle, where richly variegated Indian cultures are still relatively undisturbed. Then came the long mountainous climb up to the cool plateau of Mexico City, over 7,000 feet in the air. In this trip from the border to Mexico City, less than 700 miles, I had crossed through a variety of mixed and indigenous folklore even greater than the variety of landscape.

### LIBRARIES

There is quite a variety of libraries in Mexico City, but none is outstanding in folklore. Best were the libraries of the National Museum and Antonio Alzate Society, and the National Library of Mexico. The library of the National Museum appears to be the most scholarly, and has an interesting collection of broadsides and various curious pam-

<sup>1</sup> A paper delivered before SAMLA at Gainesville, Florida, Thanksgiving, 1938.

phlets of folklore interest covering a period of many years. The Antonio Alzate is a scientific society long established, and has, apparently by virtue of long years of collecting, acquired a number of interesting items. The National Library has the largest bulk of material, which is natural, since it is the official center, like the Library of Congress in this country, but apparently there is a lack of guiding experts, so that the folklore section has just accumulated rather than been built up. Nearly as valuable for folklore as the public libraries are the private libraries of individual scholars, such as Rafael Heliodoro Valle and Gabriel Saldivar. The very fine Palafox library in Puebla, perhaps the finest outside of Mexico City, I found to be rich in old and rare books, notably of a religious nature, but practically of no value for folklore. I found no considerable archive of manuscript material on Mexican folklore anywhere. Apparently such material has drifted into the Secretariat of Public Education from time to time, but probably has been scattered among various individuals and has thus disappeared as a public archive. The subject classification in library catalogs is, on the whole, rather sketchy, hence this approach to folklore in libraries is quite inadequate. I was given free access to all the libraries I visited, received courteous treatment everywhere, was often accorded particular favors by directors and owner, and was allowed to copy all I wished.

#### SCHOLARS

Much of my seven weeks of field work was spent establishing personal contacts with the folklore scholars, most of whom were in Mexico City. At the National Museum I saw Rubén Campos, professor of folklore and trainer of professional guides for the government. Out near beautiful Chapultepec, I visited Frances Toor, editor of *Mexican folkways*, only folklore periodical in Mexico and now apparently on its deathbed, lecturer on folklore in the Summer School of the National University, and writer of the most popular guidebook on Mexico. Far out in a suburb, in a house filled with books and papers rather than furniture, I saw busily at work, with two assistants, Rafael Heliodoro Valle, professor of history in the National University, who pulled from among mountains of bibliography a Mexican folklore bibliography as bulky as my own. He was a rare individual in two respects: (1) in that he had a folklore bibliography, which he was able to find without delay; and (2) in that he generously offered me his bibliography to take to my room and copy or use as I wished. In a branch director's office of the Monte Piedad, the National Pawnshop, I found Darío Rubio, secretary

of the Mexican Academy and authority on folkspeech and proverbs. In the Palace of Fine Arts, in the Music section of the Department of Public Education, I found a group of musicians collecting folksongs and ballads from all over Mexico, modifying, adapting and mimeographing them for public school use. And so on and on, my search for folklorists led me to persons in the most varied walks of life, with widely different points of approach and interests in folklore, but none of them was well grounded in the traditions of modern scientific folklore scholarship as it has developed, in its own right, in Europe and America in the past hundred years. They did not know *Folklore Fellows Communications*, the *Handwörterbuch des Aberglaubens* and Thomspon's *Motive index*. But they were friendly and openminded.

#### ORGANIZING ACTIVITY

The lack of any but individual activity in folklore and the friendly and receptive spirit of the Mexican folklorists encouraged me to engage in some organizing activity. By traveling all over Mexico City in my car and on foot, day after day for whole days at a time, I soon came to know more Mexican folklorists than any of them had come to know in the course of his busy routine. So I began introducing them to one another and establishing contacts between those who had mutual interests. One of the soundest learned societies in Mexico and the most interested in folklore was the Mexican Society of Anthropology. At their July meeting I was invited to lecture before them in Spanish on what I had found out about the status of folklore scholarship there. Having visited the libraries, the bookshops and the scholars, and having the fresh perspective of an outsider, I had formulated impressions which they were interested to hear. I told them quite frankly that much folklore textual material had been gathered and published in Mexico, but that much of it had been done by literary artists who had recreated the material in a personal style rather than follow the strict exigencies of scientific folklore, hence much of the published material cannot be of much use as a basis for scientific deductions. As a remedy, I advocated the establishment of a National Archive, to be built up by gathering manuscript material through the Republic's public school system, and that this material should be gathered under the strict control and guidance of trained folklorists, and should be safeguarded and accessibly housed in some such place as the National Library or National Museum. I also told them quite frankly that, although there were many and diverse persons interested in folklore there, folklorists with sound and scientific

training, specializing in the field, were practically nonexistent, and hence very few analytical and comparative studies have been made. To remedy this situation, I advocated that the scholarly traditions of this relatively new science should be transplanted in Mexico from the few countries, like Germany and the United States, in which they have already taken root, by inviting to Mexico guest professors from such countries, and by sending Mexican scholars to study in such countries. I further reminded them of the highly individual, scattered and isolated manner in which they were working in the field. As a remedy, I advocated the founding of a Folklore Society and a publication outlet, to stimulate their activities. After this lecture, I was exposed to discussion from the floor, and the quite pointed but goodnatured arguments that followed were a hopeful indication of the live interest in folklore there. Gabriel Saldívar, who has just published an authoritative history of Mexican music and an excellent study of the *jarabe*, a Mexican folkdance, Vicente Mendoza, notable scholar in the field of Mexican balladry, and others rose to deny my accusations. Later these same gentlemen invited me into their homes and gave me much help in enlarging my bibliography of Mexican folklore. Alfonso Caso, famed archaeologist, Frances Toor, editor of *Mexican folkways*, and others rose to defend me. Such interest was stimulated that a motion was passed to dedicate the August meeting to a general discussion of what should be done about folklore studies in Mexico. I was invited to make out a list of folklorists in Mexico City who did not belong to the Society, and these persons were all invited to the August meeting to participate in the general discussion. I returned to Mexico City from my field work especially to be present at this meeting on August 18th in the hall of the Antonio Alzate Society. Some of the guest folklorists came, especially the younger men, university students and public schoolteachers, like Raúl Guerrero, Gabriel López Chiñas and Alfredo Ibarra, whom I had picked out and encouraged as especially promising new blood. The problems I had raised at the previous meeting were discussed in more detail, and Mr. Mendizábal was appointed to organize a group under the wing of the Society of those interested in folklore, looking forward to the formation of a Folklore Society. Since my return to this country, I have been informed that already a Mexican Society of Folklore has been founded, and I have received newspaper clippings about their meetings, which are held in the National Museum, and in which various interesting papers are being given, such as "La Celebración de la Noche de Muertos en Janitzio" by



Raúl G. Guerrero, and "Traditional ballads from Tehuantepec," by Andrés Henestrosa. The Society of Anthropology was itself considering the foundation of a learned periodical, as their organ of publication, and it was specified that a certain quota of pages should be offered as an outlet for folklore publications until a folklore publication could be established. Also the Society contemplated approaching the administration of the National University on the question of guest professors and scholarships for students abroad, and of taking up with the Secretariat of Public Education the question of gathering materials for an archive. I offered to donate the original manuscripts of such folklore materials that might be sent in to me as a result of my field work, after I had copies made, to form the nucleus of such an archive. Some such material has already come to me from Tlaxcala. Argentina has built up an enormous archive of manuscript folklore materials through the public school system, and Mexico, with her rich and varied colorful folk life spread over a large area, should be able to build up an equally large and valuable archive. Proper collecting of materials and adequately trained scholars to deal with these materials are Mexico's two greatest needs. The outlook is hopeful, for the materials undoubtedly are there, and so are the keen young intellects, capable of being developed into able scholars.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Before, during, and since my trip to Mexico, I have been working on a bibliography of Mexican folklore. It is needed not only because there is none and it will fill a broad gap, but it is needed also specifically for encouraging and helping folklorists in Mexico. A bibliography will make them aware of what has been done, it will show them what remains to be done, and it will indicate along what lines they may work most effectively. I have listed everything in the *Journal of American folklore*, in *Mexican folkways*, and in *Neza*. In catalogs, libraries and bookshops I found many other articles and books. Rafael Heliodoro Valle, with astounding generosity, gave me all he had, which bulked almost as large as the entire quantity I had gathered up to that time and was the greatest single impetus my bibliography received. Other scholars in Mexico generously offered what they could. Since I had necessarily to analyze completely the contents of *Mexican folkways*, its editor, Frances Toor, asked me to make a separate copy of the contents of this periodical, which could be published separately as an index to the files of *Mexican folkways*. This I have already done. I was invited to publish my bibliography in the *Boletín bibliográfico* in Mexico City.

At the time I promised to do so, but the bibliography has since grown so that it will now require at least two instalments if not a separate volume. And still it is quite incomplete. Indeed, I have thought of calling it "An incomplete bibliography of Mexican folklore," for the materials are so widespread that I despair of ever having it approach completeness. Besides, the field of folklore is such a new science that its borders are still so vaguely defined in practice and its materials so scattered through literature, anthropology, archaeology, music, art, and so on and on that I should never know when to call it complete. In addition to the general section, I have divided the materials of the bibliography into 12 rough and rather ill-defined sections. They are: (1) mythology, (2) legend and tradition, (3) folktale, (4) folk poetry, music, dance and game, (5) festival and custom, (6) folk drama, (7) folk art and craft, (8) folk food and drink, (9) superstition, witchcraft, medicine and magic, (10) folkspeech, (11) proverb, (12) riddle. Largest is section 4, folk poetry, music, dance and game. This is natural, because anyone who has been to Mexico knows that colorful Indian dances are to be found everywhere, and Spanish ballad tradition is one of the world's richest and has been well transplanted in Mexico. Section 5, festival and custom, is also large, because every village in Mexico has a wealth of festivals and the dances are closely associated with them, also customs are rich and varied all over the country and have attracted the attention of everyone from the earliest Spanish historians on down. Section 7, folk art and craft, is large for the same reason of rich variety, and has attracted the attention of every traveler because of its flourishing abundance. Section 10, folkspeech, is also large, for the great variety of Indian languages and Spanish dialects have fused and confused to meet the needs of a very mixed population in many different physical and cultural environments, much of which was entirely new for the Spanish language. Indeed, I was amazed that a Mexican language is emerging in such a unified form after such a short period of some 400 years. Also large is section 2, legend and tradition. This is somewhat to be expected, but the creative genius of literary artists thrives so well on this sort of material that only a detailed check can show what proportion of this section is really folk and what proportion is literary. I have a vague impression the latter is relatively large. Section 1, mythology, is of medium size, for 400 years of Christianity have beaten back this field rather efficiently into the hands of the archaeologists, though not without the compromise of modification and substitution and the tolerance

of some relatively pure survivals even today. Section 3, folktale, is of medium size, but I believe this to be due to lack of attention rather than to lack of abundant material. And I believe the same can be said of the very small section 11, proverb, because the proverb certainly has flowered richly in Spain, and my few samplings indicate this same abundance is to be found for the searching also in Mexico. Rivalling the proverb as smallest in bulk is section 12, riddle. This may be due also to lack of attention, though my sampling of the Zapotec Indians yielded somewhat but not abundantly. Section 9, superstition, witchcraft, medicine and magic, is of medium size, but my impression is that it could be made one of the largest sections. I am unprepared to say why section 6, folk drama, and section 8, folk food and drink, are of unimpressive size. This survey shows us that folk poetry, music, dance and game, like balladry in the United States, has enjoyed greatest popularity with folklorists, while superstition, witchcraft, medicine and magic and the proverb rather obviously lack attention and promise rich rewards, and that legend and tradition, folk drama, folk food and drink, and notably the riddle are in bad need of more searching and scholarly investigation and hold the attraction of unexplored fields or of fields enticing to the reformer.

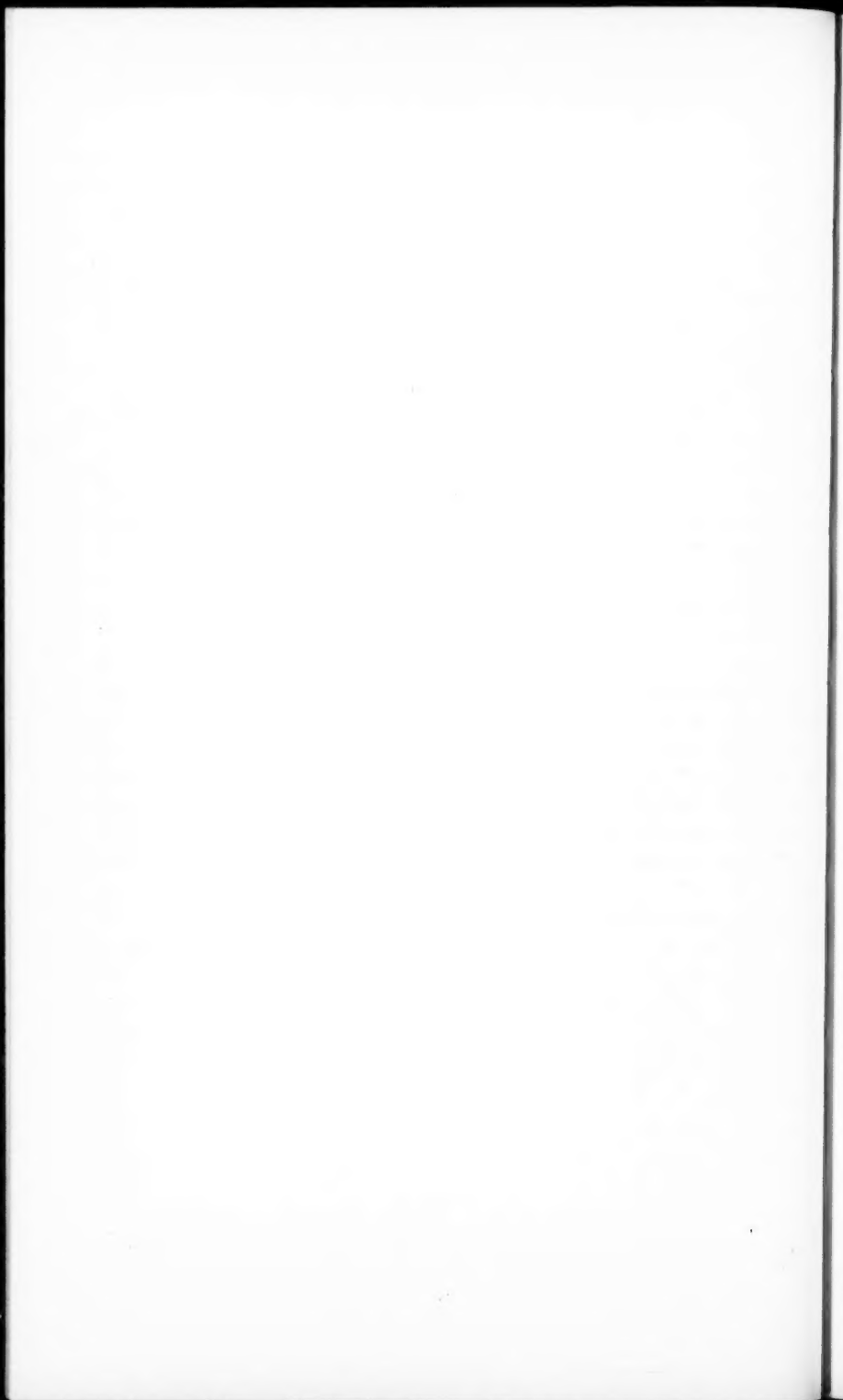
#### COLLECTING

My collecting of Mexican folklore materials was limited to small samplings, because I lacked the most indispensable equipment of a folklore field worker, a recording machine. I lacked both the time and the zeal to record any large amount of material in my own laborious handwriting, and good stenographers for the purpose were hard to get and I was provided with no funds for this purpose. As a last and least satisfactory resort, I appealed to the public school system. I personally visited the central state offices of education in four states: Tlaxcala, Puebla, Tamaulipas and Nuevo León, the two former in the east, the two latter in the north, showing the Spanish and American influences respectively, which are the two important foreign influences on the indigenous Indian cultures. In every one of these states I presented a questionnaire to the state director of education, giving instructions how the material should be recorded, and in every one I received assurance of the fullest cooperation, and offers to mimeograph my questionnaire and send it out to every school in the state with a letter from the state director to submit material directly to him which he would forward to me. Whether my prodding letters will be able to overcome natural human

inertia, only time will tell. I have already received a small amount of material through this channel. I spent nearly three weeks in field work, nearly two of them in Tlaxcala, which is about as typical and average Mexican rural community as can be found, according to advice given me by ethnographers in Mexico City. Tlaxcala is one of the smallest states in Mexico, and can be traveled over rather completely, easily and quickly. It is not a tourist showplace, and thus is relatively "unspoiled." Living here for awhile, I was able to form some general impressions of the folk life in a typical Mexican community. Here and in Mexico City itself I personally gathered a small assortment of material, notably proverbs and slang words. I shall cite half a dozen proverbs which are typically Mexican. Two reflect local beliefs. *A tu amigo p  dale el higo, y a tu enemigo el durazno* 'Peel a fig for your friend, a peach for your enemy.' It is believed that a peach should be eaten with its skin, and that it is harmful to eat one peeled. *Cuando el tecolote canta, el indio muere* 'When the owl sings, the Indian dies.' Two cite particular cities of Mexico. *Mono, perico y poblano, no lo toques con la mano; T  calo con un palito, porque es animal maldito* 'A monkey, a parrot and a native of Puebla, don't touch them with your hand, but only with a stick, because they are cursed animals.' *   Y upa, y apa! dicen los de Cuernavaca, que el animal que es del agua no m  s la pechuga saca* 'And upa and apa! say those of Cuernavaca, for the water animal shows no more than its breast.' This is what a bully would say to challenge anyone to step up and prove himself to be a better man than he. I do not grasp the full significance of this proverb. *Come camote, no te d   pena; cuida tu vida, y deja la ajena* 'Don't be afraid to eat sweet potatoes; tend to your own affairs and leave those of others alone.' This proverb is based upon the belief that eating sweet potatoes will cause one's mouth to pucker, that is, so that one cannot talk about one's neighbors. *El que nace para guaje, hasta j  cara no para* 'He who is born to be a calabash does not stop until he's a cup.' The *guaje* is a calabash or gourd-like fruit, from whose dried shell the Mexicans make *j  caras* or drinking vessels. The idea of the proverb is that we cannot expect one ever to rise above the limits of his abilities. In general currency, among the lower classes and thieves in Mexico City many colorful slang words are to be found. Very typical and widely used are *chamaco*, *chamaca* 'young boy or girl,' and *escuincle*, *escuincla* 'daring, mischievous or naughty boy or girl.' Widely taboo in Mexico City is the number 41. It is said that on November 20th, 1901, on Peace street in Mexico City,

there were found in a dance 41 sodomites, many of them dressed as women. So well-known did this scandal become, that the number 41 became synonymous with *afeminado*, *puto*, *joto*, and the innumerable other names given this unfortunate type, and even today the number 41 is so current in this sense that it is usually avoided when it is necessary to assign numbers to various persons in a group. A marihuana cigaret is often called a *carrujo*. A political job with big pay and little work is called a *hueso* 'bone,' because the one who holds it gnaws the public purse as a dog gnaws a bone. *Guango* 'wide or loose' is probably the stem of *guangoche* 'gunnysack.' One may say of another's illfitting suit, *Te queda guangoche* 'It fits you like a gunnysack.' Campa has recorded a riddle based on this word in New Mexico. Many are the words to describe a stupid, silly fool: *chapo*, *güey*, *maje*, *menso*, *vato*, *zorimbo*. And the words for "police" among thieves and others are without number: *cuico*, *garfil*, *jara*, *pastor*, *polizonte*, *teco* or *tecolote*, *tequesquite*, etc. It is said that in Mexico City a murdered man was once found on the street. A crowd gathered, and a Chinese gentleman of humble wit and circumstances came to see what the excitement was all about. Just then the police came, and everyone ran away, except the poor Chinese, who was arrested on suspicion. He tried to explain that he had nothing to do with the murder and was only looking on. So now in Mexico City, when one discreetly wishes not to participate or take sides in an argument, one says simply, *Y yo como el chino*, "No más milando" 'And I like the Chinese, "Only looking."' I hope I may be able to pursue in all the Latin American republics a program similar to the one I carried through in Mexico last summer.

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## THE BIRD THAT FOULS ITS NEST

by John G. Kunstmann

As far as is known, the proverb, "It is an ill bird that fouls its own nest," was first recorded in complete form in Latin by Egbert von Lüttich in verse 148 of his *Fecunda Ratis*. There it reads: *nidos commaculans immundus habebitur ales*. The *Fecunda Ratis* is a collection of fables, proverbs, maxims, and similar material and was finished ca. 1023 A. D.<sup>1</sup> From this year on, the proverb concerning the nest-befouling bird appears frequently in the literature (the term is used in the broadest sense of the word) of Western and Northern Europe, down to our days. Scholars have made known from time to time the places where they have met this adage, notably Hoffmann von Fallersleben,<sup>2</sup> K. F. W. Wander,<sup>3</sup> W. H. D. Suringar,<sup>4</sup> Ida von Düringsfeld and Otto von Reinsberg-Düringsfeld,<sup>5</sup> Joseph Haller,<sup>6</sup> Müllenhoff-Scherer-Steinmeyer,<sup>7</sup> Vincent Stuckey Lean,<sup>8</sup> G. Walz,<sup>9</sup> Max Förster,<sup>10</sup> Friedrich Seiler,<sup>11</sup> and Richard Jente.<sup>12</sup> Through their industry, they have made available the material

<sup>1</sup> Egberts von Lüttich *Fecunda Ratis*, zum ersten Mal herausgegeben, auf ihre Quellen zurückgeführt und erklärt von Ernst Voigt (Halle, 1889), p. 36. See also F. Seiler, *Deutsche Sprichwörterkunde* (Munich, 1922), pp. 91, 71-73, 79; id., "Deutsche Sprichwörter in mittelalterlicher lateinischer Fassung," *Z. f. d. Ph.*, XXXV (1913), p. 279; A. Taylor, *The Proverb* (Cambridge, Mass., 1931), p. 51.

<sup>2</sup> Hoffmann von Fallersleben, "Altniederländische Sprichwörter nach der ältesten Sammlung," *Horae Belgicae, Pars Nona* (Hanover, 1854); id. (ed.), *Tunnicius, Die älteste niederdeutsche Sprichwortsammlung von Antonius Tunnicius gesammelt und in lateinische Verse übersetzt* (Berlin, 1870).

<sup>3</sup> K. F. W. Wander, *Deutsches Sprichwörter-Lexikon*, vol. III (Leipzig, 1873), s. v. "Nest"; vol. IV (Leipzig, 1876), s. v. "Vogel."

<sup>4</sup> W. H. D. Suringar, *Erasmus over nederlandse spreekwoorden* (Utrecht, 1873); *Heinrich Bebel's Proverbia Germanica* (Leiden, 1879).

<sup>5</sup> Ida von Düringsfeld—Otto von Reinsberg-Düringsfeld, *Sprichwörter der Germanischen und Romanischen Sprachen*, vol. II (Leipzig, 1875), no. 561.

<sup>6</sup> Joseph Haller, *Altspanische Sprichwörter und sprichwörtliche Redensarten aus den Zeiten vor Cervantes*, I (Ratisbon, 1883), pp. 317-319, no. 266.

<sup>7</sup> Müllenhoff-Scherer, *Denkmäler deutscher Poesie und Prosa aus dem VIII-XII. Jahrhundert*, third edition, ed. by E. Steinmeyer (Berlin, 1892), I, pp. 63 ff.

<sup>8</sup> Vincent Stuckey Lean's *Collectanea*, vol. IV (Bristol, 1904), pp. 9-10.

<sup>9</sup> G. Walz, *Das Sprichwort bei Gower mit besonderem Hinweis auf Quellen und Parallelen*. Munich Diss. (Nördlingen, 1907), pp. 80-81.

<sup>10</sup> Max Förster, "Das elisabethanische Sprichwort nach Th. Draxe's *Treasure of Ancient Adagies* (1616)," *Anglia* XLII = N. F. XXX (1918), pp. 361 ff.

<sup>11</sup> Friedrich Seiler, see note 1.

<sup>12</sup> Richard Jente, "The Proverbs of Shakespeare with Early and Contemporary Parallels," *Washington University Studies*, vol. XIII. *Humanistic Series*, No. 2 (April, 1926) = Whole No. LII, pp. 402-3.

for research into the origin, the dissemination, the formal changes, the meaning, and the application of this proverb.

On the following pages I propose to build on this foundation.

Under *I* I shall give a chronologically arranged list of occurrences of the Medieval Latin versions of the proverb anent the nest-befouling bird. These Medieval Latin versions are commonly conceded to be the root whence stem the various vernacular versions.<sup>19</sup> To furnish a "union list" of all available vernacular forms of the proverb, from the Straits of Gibraltar to the North Cape and from the German-Slavic line to Iceland, would serve no useful purpose at this time. For I am mainly concerned with the origin of the proverb. Once the provenience of the Medieval Latin, or mother proverb is discovered, the parentage of the descendant vernacular versions is also established. In listing the Medieval Latin versions, I shall not confine myself to an indication of the places where the proverb may be found, nor shall I limit myself to listing such places as contain the proverb in its complete form. I shall cite the proverb in full, and in its context, wherever it so occurs. This is necessary for a study of the formal changes, of the meaning, and of the changes in application of the proverb during the last nine hundred years. I shall include in the list allusions to and adaptations and extensions of the proverb. To the list I shall append samples, one for every important West and North European language, of the (modern) vernacular versions of the proverb.

In no sense of the word do I consider this list, or the unpublished list containing the occurrences of the proverb in the various vernaculars, *my* list. I may have contributed a few citations to the great number gathered by the scholars whom I have mentioned and by others whom to mention in every case limitations of space forbid. I hereby acknowledge gratefully my indebtedness to them.

Under *II* I shall, using the material presented in *I*, discuss very briefly some aspects of dissemination of the Medieval Latin versions. Because of the omission of the vernacular versions, I shall not consider at this time the geographical distribution of the proverb over Western and Northern Europe.

Under *III* I shall attempt to answer the question: Who or what is this bird that fouls its own nest? The answer to this question, if it be correct, should, at the same time, answer the question of the proverb's provenience.

<sup>19</sup> *Z. f. d. Ph.* XLVII (1916), p. 250.

## I. MEDIEVAL LATIN VERSIONS

- (1) Ca. 1000 A. D. *At Henricus Trevirensis, cui summa rerum commissa erat, circumspecto claustro: Enimvero, ait, talis nidus bonas aves decet! Et Kebo, Lorisham abbas, vir nominis reverendi prae multis et eo die pro nobis plus caeteris sentiens, sed et crebro nos postea donans et consiliis iuvans: Si placet, ait, ipsarum avium hunc nidum qualis per omnia sit, primitus ab abbate audiamus, ut de caeteris, quid agamus, integrius scire valeamus.* [Commissarii imperatoris S. Galli coenobium visitant. 966]. "Ekkehardi IV. Casus S. Galli, c. X," *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, SS. II. 128, 33 ff. Cf. *Proverbia Communia*, ed. Hoffmann von Fallersleben, *Horae Belgicae, Pars Nona*, p. 42, no. 676: *Tis goet sien aen den nest, wat voghel daer i woont. Nidus testatur, ibi qualis avis dominatur*; Dr. Jellinghaus, *Die Proverbia communia mittelniederdeutsch, aus einer Bordesholmer Handschrift vom Jahre 1486*. Programm (Kiel, 1880), p. 20, no. 641: *Tys ghud to seende an dem neste wat vaghels dar inne wand*; Suringar, *Bebel*, p. 133, no. 498; *Ex nido avem iudicamus*; p. 536; p. 208, where he quotes from *Klosterspiegel*, X, 21: *Es ist ein böser Vogel, der in sein Nest hofiert, und doch tragen's die Mönche nicht aus dem Kloster*; Grimm, *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, XII, 2, 397, where Eyerling I, 89 is quoted: *am nest wird man leichtlichen innen was für ein vogel wont darinnen*.

- (2) Ca. 1023 A. D.

*Nidos commaculans immundas habebitur ales:*

*Pelex nec factis claret nec nomine digna.*

Egbert von Lüttich, *Fecunda Ratis*, vv. 148-9. Cf. Fischart, *Das philosophische Ehzuchtbüchlein* (Scheible, *Das Kloster*, X, p. 545): *Vettel . . . mistet gern inn fremde Näster*.

- (3) Ca. 1046 A. D.

*Sed dicit nova lex: in dextram mandibulam te*

*Si quis cedat, ei paciens prebeto aliam tu.*

*Composite mala vestra satis defenditis acta!*

*Turpe est quod proprium violas, onocrotale, nidum.*

*Ad defendendum sapientes estis iniquum,*

*Ad rectum stulti. . .*

Sexti Amarcii Galli Piosistrati *Sermonum Libri IV*, ed. M. Manitius (Leipzig, 1888). These lines are taken from Book III, vv. 759 ff.

- (4) Ca. 1151-52.

*Nec petit hic standi veniam, nec stare quod ipsum*

*Hic patior, grates, quas mihi debet, agit,*

*Restituit pretium nutrita monedula merdam,  
Gracculus et cuculo, quem fovet, hoste perit.*

Magister Nivardus (?), *Isengrimus*, ed. E. Voigt (Halle, 1884), Book IV, vv 525 ff.

(5) 12th cent.

*Progenies avium mala foedat stercore nidum.*

Cod. 2521, Vienna (formerly Hs. philol. 413), in Haupt-Hoffmann, *Altdeutsche Blätter*, I (Leipzig 1836), 10; also Hs. 1966, Germanic Museum (Nuremberg), and (?) cod. lat. 7977 (Kaisheim 77), Munich (13th cent.). See Müllenhoff-Scherer, *Denkmäler*,<sup>2</sup> II, p. 147; Jacob Werner, *Lateinische Sprichwörter und Sinnsprüche des Mittelalters* [=Sammlung mittellateinischer Texte, ed. A. Hilka, no. 3] (Heidelberg, 1912), p. 72.

(6) 12th cent.

*Est mala que proprium demerdant avicula nidum.*

Cod. Lat. 17142, Munich, formerly Scheitlarn. See Seiler, *Z f. d. Ph.*, XXXV (1913), pp. 238, 286, 289.

(7) After 1172.

*Non est illa valens que nidum stercoret ales.*

C 58/275, Zurich (Wasserkirche). See Müllenhoff-Scherer, *l.c.*; Wander, *o.c.*, IV, s.v. "Vogel," section on Latin versions.

(8) End of 12th cent.

*Ericus se ad astandum fratri natura pertrahi dixit, probrosum  
referens alitem qui proprium polluat nidum.*

Saxo Grammaticus, *Gesta Danorum*, Book V., ed. P. E. Müller, I (Copenhagen, 1839), 195.

(9) Ca. 1250.

*Qui sput in propriam, probra spargit propria, barbam:  
Nidum, quo residet, sordida foedat avis.*

Albert von Stade (Albertus Stadensis), *Troilus*, ed Merzdorf, Lib. V, v. 939. I quote this from Suringar, *Bebel*, pp. XLIX, 207. Cf. "sein eigenes Ponim verschänden" = "ein Glied seiner eigenen Familie herabsetzen." Abraham Tendlau, *Sprichwörter und Redensarten deutsch-jüdischer Vorzeit* (Frankfurt a. M., n.d. [1860?]), pp. 228 f., no. 721. See also no. (14), below.

(10) 13th cent.

*Turpis avis, proprium que fedat stercore nidum.*

Cod. 1365 (formerly 3356), Vienna. Also in a Basle Ms.; see

Werner, *o.c.*, p. 98, and Wander, *o.c.*, IV, *s.v.* "Vogel," section on Latin versions.

(11) 14th cent.

*Es ist ein ungenemer vogel, der do befleckt sein  
eigen nest: Est avis ingrata, que defedat sua strata.*

"Schwabacher Sprüche des XIV. Jahrhunderts," *Sitzungsberichte der Münchner Akademie*, II, 25-38, no. 73; cf. *Z. f. d. Ph.*, XLVII (1916), pp. 243 ff., 250. See also Werner, *o.c.*, p. 26 (Basle Ms.), and nos. (16) and (24), below.

(12) End of 14th cent.

*Turpiter errat avis, proprium que stercore nidum,  
Cuius erit custos, contaminare studet.*

Gower, *Vox Clamantis*, V, 835; cf. Walz, *o. c.*, pp. 80 f.

(13) First quarter of 15th cent.

*Est avibus proprium fedis corrumpere nidum.*

(14) First quarter of 15th cent.

*Expwis in barbam, si membra domestica ledis;  
Est avibus proprium nidos corrumpere fedis.*

(13) and (14): Cod. A XI, 67, University Library, Basle; cf. Werner, *o. c.*, pp. 26 and 31.

(15) 15th cent.

*Degenerans olidum facit ales stercore nidum.*

*Peder Lolles samling af danske og latinske ordsprog, optrykt efter den ældste udgave af 1506 af R. Nyerup* (Copenhagen, 1828) [bruchstücke einer hs. des XV. jh. in universitets-jubilæets danske samfund nr. 57, blandinger II, 1, 39 ff.], no. 231; cf. H. Reuter-dahl, *gamle ordspråk på latin och svenska efter en Upsalabs. (XV jh.) utg.* (Lund, 1840), 204; Axel Kock och Carl af Petersens, *Östnordiska och Latinska Medeltidsordspråk. Peder Låles Ordspråk och en motsvarande Svensk Samling*, I (Copenhagen, 1889-1894), p. 160, no. 205; II (Copenhagen, 1891-92), p. 119.

(16) Ca. 1450.

*Est avis ingrata, que defedat sua strata.*

*Es ist ein ungenemer vogel, der do wefleckt sein eygen nest.*

Breslau-Lüben Ms., 1459 A. D. See Joseph Klapper, *Die Sprichwörter der Freidankpredigten* ("Wort und Brauch," XVI) (Breslau, 1927), p. 79, no. 425, and no. (11), above. Klapper lists on p. 24 as nos. 176 and 177 from Breslau Ms. I. Q.

50: Est avis ingrata, que defedat sua strata, and Est avis ingrata, que stercoreat in sua strata.

- (17) Third quarter of 15th cent.

*Turpis avis nidum defedat stercore suum.*

Camenz-Frankenberg Ms. I.Q. 363. Klapper's signature of the ms. (I. Q. 353, Bl. 108), *o.c.*, p. 79, is evidently a misprint. Klapper lists on p. 36, as no. 617, from Breslau Ms. I. Q. 617: Turpis avis proprium defedat stercore nidum.

- (18) End of 15th cent.

*Tis een vuul voghel, die sijn nest ontreint.*

*Vilis et ingrata volucris fedans sua strata.*

*Proverbia Communia*, no. 677. See Hoffmann von Fallersleben, *Altniederländische Sprichwörter*. . . ., p. 42, and no. (25), below

- (19) Ca. 1495.

*Nemo suae patriae confingat scandale, nidum*

*Defoedans proprium, pessima fertur avis.*

*Nymand schendt seyn vaterlandt*

*Das'er nicht werde genant*

*Eyn vogel der do vnreyn ist*

*Vnd schmeyst ym selber in seyn genist.*

Fabri de Werdea, *Proverbia metrica*, n. 166 v. 393. See Suringar, *Bebel*, p. 207; Erasmus, pp. XXX f.

- (20) 1508.

*Pessima est avis, quae proprium nidum defoedat; hoc est: Malus est, qui vel uxorem vel propriam patriam et familiam vel suos parentes aut sorores infamat.*

Henricus Bebelius, *Proverbia Germanica collecta atque in Latinum traducta*, quoted from Suringar, *Heinrich Bebel's Proverbia Germanica* (Leiden, 1879), p. 21, no. 44.

- (21) 1514-15.

*It is ein vûl vogel, de syn eigen nest beschit.*

*Foeda suum volucris defoedans stercore nidum.*

Hoffmann von Fallersleben (ed.), *Tunnicus* (Berlin, 1870), p. 80, no. 952; p. 176.

- (22) 1539 and 1552. Richard Taverner, *Proverbs or Adages of Erasmus* (London, 1539 and 1552), in referring "It is an evyl byrde that defyleth her owne neste" to Erasmus, evidently has in mind Erasmus' "Qui domi compluitur." See V. Stuckey Lean's *Collectanea*, IV (1904), 9: Tav., f. 59, 1552. The reference to



Erasmus I owe to Professor Richard Jente (Erasmus 4338, p. 659 of the 1518 edition of the *Adagia*). Cf. Suringar, *Erasmus*, p. 345, nos CLXXXVII, 3 and 4: "Qui domi compluitur, huius ne deum quidem miseret," with references to Franck and to Egenolff 1541 and 1548).

(23) 1566-1598.

*Turpis avis spurcum proprium facit upupa lectum.*

Gartner, *Proverbialia Dicteria* (1566-1598), p. 113. Cf. Suringar, *Bebel*, p. 207. See no. (26), below.

(24) Ca. 1570.

*Est avis ingrata, quae defoedat sua strata.*

*Welcher sein eigen nest bescheist,*

*Billich ein boeser vogel heist.*

Bruno Seidel, *Loci Communes proverbiales de moribus, carminibus antiquis conscripti, cum interpretatione Germanica nunc primum selecti et editi* (Basle, 1572), p. 174. See Seiler, *Deutsche Sprichwörterkunde*, p. 125; *Z. f. d. Ph.*, XLV (1913), p. 279.

(25) 1521 to 1634 (?).

*It is a foul bird that bewrays his own nest.*

*Vilis et ingrata volucris foedans sua strata.*

Lean, *Collectanea*, IV, p. 9, quotes "Bewrays. W. 1586." and on p. 10, he quotes "Vilis et ingrata volucris foedans sua strata. W., 1586." Does Lean have in mind John Withals, *Dict. in English and Latin* (London, 1521, and later editions, up to 1634) and does he quote from the edition of 1586?

(26) Undated.

*Turpis avis foedum proprium facit upupa nidum.*

J. Eiselein, *Die Sprichwörter und Sinnreden des deutschen Volkes in alter und neuer Zeit* (Freiburg, 1840), 621.

EXAMPLES OF MODERN VERNACULAR FORMS OF THE PROVERB

They are cited from the well-known collections of Wander, Düringsfeld, and Haller.

Portuguese: *Aquella ave he má, que em seu ninho suja.*

Spanish: *Aquella ave es mala: que su nido estraga (o:cága).*

Italian: *Cattivo uccello che sporca il suo nido.*

French: *Cet oiseau est méchant, qui chie en son nid.*

Dutch: *Het is een vuile vogel, die zijn eigen nest ontreinigt.*

English: *It is an ill bird that fouls its own nest.*

German: Es ist ein böser Vogel, der in sein eigen Nest hofiert.

Danish: Det er en slem Fugl, som besmitter sin egen Rede.

Swedish: Elak fogel, som sölär sitt eget näste.

Norwegian: D'er ein klen Fugl, som skjemmer sitt eget Reid.

Icelandic: Sá es foglinn verstr es í sjálfs síns hreiðr dritr.

## II. SOME ASPECTS OF DISSEMINATION OF THE MEDIEVAL LATIN VERSIONS.

The list in I seems to make it fairly clear that there was current before the year 1000 A. D. a proverb or a proverbial expression that had to do with the behavior of birds in their nests: A clean nest does honor to its feathered inhabitants; they are good birds. An unclean nest does not do honor to its occupants; these birds are bad birds. A good bird keeps his nest clean. A bad bird does not keep his nest clean; he soils it, befoils it. That such a proverb or proverbial expression must have been fairly well known at the time when the Imperial Committee visited the monastery of St. Gall in 966, is apparent from Ekkehard's account (I, 1). Ekkehard's spokesmen do not have to quote the postulated maxim; they can allude to it.

An expression of this sort lends itself well to moralizing. Most likely, therefore, teachers and preachers and such as prepared sermon-helps seized this "proverb" and standardized and disseminated it. They, members of the Church, are responsible for the monastic, ecclesiastic, Latin, moralizing tradition of this proverb, and they are the authors of its metrical form; *hexameter*, e. g. I, 2-7, 10, 14, 21; *distich*, e. g. 1, 9, 19; *leonine verse*, e. g. I, 11, 13, 15, 18, 25. A verse, they knew, is more easily memorized and retained. It becomes a "quotation." There is, to be sure, a certain amount of variation in the Latin versions that are handed down to us. The bird that soils its nest is *ales immundus, degenerans, probrosus* or *avis (volucris) mala, non valens, sordida, pessima, foeda*, or, most frequently, *turpis, ingrata*, or *vilis et ingrata*. And the soiling is called *commaculare, violare, (stercore) foedare* (or *defoedare*), *demerdare, stercorare, polluere, contaminare, fedis corrumpere*, or *olidum facere nidum*. Again, in some instances, a specific bird is named as the evildoer (*onocrotalus, monedula, upupa*). In most citations, however, the bird remains an anonymous fowl. On the other hand, the metrical form places a certain restraint on the choice of vocabulary, and the result is "standardization." This is noticeable, from the 12th century on, especially with those versions of the proverb which occur

in collections, i. e., as isolated sayings, without a (story) context. A context would naturally make for variation of expression, to suit a special situation or occasion. By the year 1400, approximately, two versions, both leonine, seem to be on the way to becoming the favored versions: *Turpis avis, proprium que fedat stercore nidum*, and *Est avis ingrata, que defedat sua strata*." A glance at the modern standard forms of the vernacular versions of our proverb at the end of I makes it very probable that they are the lineal descendants of the one or the other of these two Latin versions.

### III. WHO OR WHAT IS THE BIRD THAT FOULS ITS OWN NEST?

This much, then, seems to be plausible, viz., that there was in the beginning a widely distributed, Medieval Latin saying concerning the bird, or a bird, that fouls its own nest, and that all the modern vernacular versions derive from it. This view explains satisfactorily the *dissemination* of the proverb over western and northern Europe after ca. 1000 A. D. It would be wrong, however, to assume blithely that such an assumption explains the *origin* of our proverb. Any attempt to explain the *origin* of the proverb must take into consideration the possibility that there existed somewhere in western Europe in early medieval times a *vernacular* saying about a filthy, nest-befouling bird and that this *vernacular* saying was used by a monastic teacher, who transformed it into a Latin verse and thus originated the Latin tradition. This (later) Latin stream may very well have existed side by side with one or several vernacular streams which flowed subterraneously, i. e., which merely did not happen to come into evidence in medieval literature. In this connection, it is interesting to look at the passage in Egbert von Lüttich's *Fecunda Ratis*, the first complete form of our proverb in European literature. To be sure, it is recorded in Latin, and thus seems to lend weight to the opinion that subscribes to the theory of the Medieval Latin origin of our adage. It must not be forgotten, however, that it was Egbert's intention to collect proverbs, etc., *that were current among the folk and that had never before been written down* "in communi sermone, nusquam scripta" (so in his dedication to Bishop Adalbold of Utrecht). Hence it is possible that our proverb—as proverb—did exist in the ver-

"*ingrata*, i. e., *non grata*, as in *persona non grata*. There is also an *ungrateful bird*. This is the bird that lays eggs in strange nests. I have collected a considerable amount of the lore of this bird and intend to publish it in the near future.

naacular of the Dutch Lowlands at Egbert's time. On the other hand, Egbert made use of the ecclesiastical literature and of the classical heritage in the compilation of his anthology, and since he does not distinguish in the arrangement of his "*rustici sermonis opusculum*" between indigenous and non-indigenous proverbs, one is unable to tell whether his proverb concerning the nest-befouling bird is one deriving from classical antiquity or one that sprang from the soil of Egbert's native country or some other (west) European land some time during the early Middle Ages. Similarly one might argue for a Latin or for a vernacular origin of the expression on which the banter in the *Casus S. Galli* rests.

The inquiry, whether the Latin form from which descend the vernacular versions was "original" or whether it, in turn, was derived from a vernacular source or tradition, or whether it derives ultimately from older, classical or ecclesiastical, etc., traditions, can be answered, in my opinion, by answering another question, viz., Who or what is the bird that fouls its own nest?

About 15 years ago, the thought occurred to me that the bird in the proverb, "It is an ill bird that fouls its own nest," might well be a specific bird. I was pleased when Professor Richard Jente wrote me, in answer to a different matter, on October 24, 1931: "This (It is an ill bird, etc.) is a good example of a medieval proverb based on an old Latin one, but made more definite. I even suspect that in the new form it alluded originally to some definite bird of which a story was told such as the proverb sums up." I am satisfied that I have identified the nest-befouling bird and that the culprit is the hoopoe (*upupa epops* L.). Elsewhere I have presented what to me constitutes the proof for my assumption.<sup>16</sup> I need, therefore, at this time only summarize the reasons for my belief in the hoopoe as the ill bird that fouls its own nest, and cite by way of proof and illustration such material as is not included in the previous publication.

The *upupa epops* L. is one of the world's most infamous sterquilinous birds. As a matter of fact, it is among the fowls of the air what the skunk is among the beasts of the field. Most names of the hoopoe which are not onomatopoeic, particularly in France, in the Netherlands, the Scandinavian countries, and in Germany, connect it with dirt, dung,

<sup>16</sup> *The Hoopoe. A Study in European Folklore*. Dissertation, The University of Chicago, 1938. Cited henceforth as *The Hoopoe*. Cf. Hoffmann-Krayer, "Wiedehopf," *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens*, IX, coll. 565-570.

excrements, and stench, and make it out to be an unclean bird. Even when the hoopoe is called by its various "standard" names, it is often described as an unclean, unsavory bird. Sometimes the reference to the hoopoe contains only a brief statement, an epithet, to the effect that it is a filthy bird; sometimes a more or less detailed etiological account is given, explaining the genesis of its coprolitic habits and scatophagous manners; again, a knowledge of the cause of its offensive odor is presupposed and hence there are only allusions to an etiological account. Popular belief in the hoopoe's habits and traits of uncleanness is practically coexistent with the geographical occurrence of the bird. This bad reputation of the hoopoe is recorded as early as the Pentateuch. It is a part of the ornithological lore of today. It is true, of course, that speaking of the Old World in general and of Germany in particular, the rise of industrialization and the growing importance of urban centers has caused the hoopoe to be forgotten. For most people it has ceased to be a living reality and has become, at best, a name only." The oldest reference to the filthiness of the hoopoe seems to be in the list of birds of abomination, found in Leviticus XI and in Deuteronomy XIV." The Arabs share this view (but see below). The oldest allusion in Greek literature to the putrid emanations of the hoopoe seems to be the passage in Aristophanes' *Birds*, 641 ff." From this time on, there is a cloud of witnesses, testifying to the belief of classical antiquity, the Middle Ages, and of modern times in the "ill"ness of the hoopoe. The witnesses include such authors as Aristotle, Aelian, Pliny, St. Jerome," St.

\*The hoopoe is not known in America. It is an old-world bird. It haits from Africa. It seems to be fairly common on the continent of Europe. In England, it is something of a rare bird. See *The Hoopoe*, p. 1.

"The "Second Moses," Maimonides (1135-1204), furnishes a list of 24 unclean birds. The hoopoe is no. 23. "Signa mundarum avium non explicantur ex Lege, quae solum immundarum censum instituit, et reliquae species concessae sunt. Species porro prohibita sunt viginti quatuor." *De cibis vetitis*, chapter I, section 14, cited in Samuel Borchart, *Hierozoicon sive de animalibus S. Scripturae*, ed. Ern. Frid. Car. Rosenmüller (Leipzig, 1796), III, p. 119.

"Cf. J. van Leeuwen *Aristophanis Aves. Cum Prolegomenis et Commentariis* (Leyden, 1902), p. 103, note 642; also his excellent *Excursus de epope avium rege*, o. c., pp. 261-270. I owe the reference to the *Excursus* to the kindness of Professor Archer Taylor. See also M. Ludwig Keimer, "Quelques remarques sur la huppe (*upupa epops*) dans l'Égypte ancienne," *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale*, XXX (1930), pp. 305-331, esp. 324 f. Hippolyte Boussac, "La huppe dans l'ancienne Égypte," *Le Naturaliste*, 29e année, 2e série, no. 496, 1er novembre 1907, pp. 251-3, I have not seen.

"in *Zachariam*, cp. 5: "Epopa appellant ab eo, quod stercora humana consideret. Avem dicunt esse spurcissimam, semper in sepulchris, semper in humano stercore commorantem. Denique et nidum ex eo facere dicitur, et pullos suos de vermiculis stercoreis alere putrescentis." Quoted from Bochart, o. c., III, p. 114.

Cyril,<sup>20</sup> Isidore of Seville, Rhabanus Maurus, St. Hildegard, Odo de Ciringtonia, Vincent of Beauvais,<sup>21</sup> Albert the Great, Johannes de Janua.<sup>22</sup> Many vernacular passages furnish additional proof that the hoopoe = filthy bird tradition was firmly established in medieval Europe. Here belong among others, Guillaume le Clerk, Heinrich von dem Türlin, Der Stricker, Konrad von Megenberg. In addition, there are a good many medieval and modern folk tales, etc., from France, Italy, Rumania, Bukovina and Transylvania, Carniola, Lusatia, England and, especially, Germany.<sup>23</sup>

It is scientific observation and pseudo-scientific lore, the latter based chiefly on biblical and classical tradition, which makes the hoopoe out to be a filthy bird. The passages, quoted in *The Hoopoe*, pp. 40-60, may be roughly divided into two groups: first, such as characterize the hoopoe as a filthy bird because it eats filth or chooses filthy dwelling and feeding places; and, second, such passages as describe it as a filthy bird because it befouls its nest. It is this latter trait of the hoopoe, that of befouling its own nest, which, I think, lives on in our proverb.

<sup>20</sup> *Libro III, de adoratione*: "(upupa) aviculae genus est, quae paludum foedissimas perpetuo circumvolat, atque ex coeno et sordibus pastum petit."

in *Zachariam*, t. III: "(upupa) avis est coeno gaudens, stercore vescens, et in vermium greges ferocius insaniens, et immundissima quaeque pro alimento usurpare solita."

*Homilia decima de festis Paschalibus*: "Upupa, inquam, impura est avicula, quae vermibus et ventris excrementis vesci gaudet imprimis." All three passages are quoted, in the original and in translation, in Bochart, *o. c.*, III, p. 114. See also pp. 123 f.

<sup>21</sup> *Bibliotheca Mundi Vincentii Burgundi ex ordine Praedicatorum Venerabilis Episcopi Bellocensis Speculum Quadruplex* (Duaci, 1624), *Spec. nat.*, lib. XVI, c. 148, coll. 1235-6, with many references.

<sup>22</sup> *Summa que Catholicon appellatur fratris Johannis Iannensis sacri ordinis fratrum predicatorum . . . emendata per prestantem virum magistrum Petrum Egidium* (1520), s. v. "Upupa": "Upupam greci appellant quia stercora humana comedat et fetenti pascatur limo. Avis est quedam spurcissima christis extensis galeata: semper in sepulchris et humano stercore commorans." The *Summa* was originally published in 1286. Works such as the *Summa* and the *Bibliotheca Mundi* are good examples of medieval encyclopedias which copied together existing information and, in turn, were copied and excerpted.

<sup>23</sup> I should like to add here a medieval hoopoe-passage which heretofore had escaped me. It is found in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Legum Sectio V, Formulae*, ed. by K. Zeumer (1886), in the "Additamentum e codice formularum Senonensium," p. 226:

- 16 Volat upua, et non arundo.  
Isterco commedit in so frundo,  
Humile facit capta dura,  
Sicut dilatus in falsatura  
Falsator. Vadit

- 21 Tamquam latro ad aura psallit . . .

The text is evidently not good. This much seems to be clear: the "upua" is the "upupa"; the "arundo" is most likely the "hirundo"; "Isterco commedit in so frundo" is perhaps "Stercus commedit in sua fronde" = the hoopoe eats dung in its leafy nest.



It must be admitted that the hoopoe's *name* occurs but rarely in connection with the proverb. Usually the proverb mentions no bird by name. Only in the following instances have I found the hoopoe mentioned specifically as the bird that fouls its nest:

*Est avis ingrata, que defedat sua strata. Talis est upupa, per quam significantur fornicarii et adulteri.* [Breslau-Lüben Ms., 1459 A. D.; see above I, (16)].

*Der Vogel kan nit sein der best, // der scheisset in sein eigen nest.* [Thomas Murner, *Die Schelmen Zunft*, 1512; the hoopoe is not named, but there is an illustration featuring the hoopoe].

*In sein eigen nest hofieren wie ein widhopf (=hoopoe).* [Sebastian Franck, 1541; see above I, (22)].

*Turpis avis spurcum proprium facit upupa nidum.* [Gartner, *Proverbialia Dicteria*, publ. 1566-1598; see above I, (23)].

*Turpis avis foedum proprium facit upupa nidum.* [See above I, (26)].

It must also be admitted that the hoopoe is not the only bird that is said to befoul its nest. In the list in I, two more such birds are mentioned, *onocrotalus* and *monedula*. And in *The Hoopoe*, pp. 62, 65-72, I have enumerated others of this ilk. There I also give my reasons for assuming that, if not originally, then certainly ultimately, the hoopoe is the ill bird that fouls its own nest. In my opinion, the *onocrotalus* and the *monedula* and the other birds mentioned as rivals of the hoopoe eventually dropped from the ken of the people who were using our proverb. They eventually understood the bird in question to be the hoopoe, even though they did not mention it specifically. They did not have to mention the hoopoe by name, because the hoopoe, as the names and passages cited in *The Hoopoe* indicate, had become in the mind of the folk the one representative filthy bird that befouls its own nest.

The final step in the development of our proverb is that not even the hoopoe is thought of any longer when the proverb is quoted, except perhaps in certain rural districts. As has been pointed out before, knowledge of or rather familiarity with birds in general and with the hoopoe in particular is dying out, even in countries where the hoopoe was fairly well known up to the beginning of the nineteenth century. Because the hoopoe was never really at home in England (see note 16) we are not surprised at the non-appearance of its name in the English form of the proverb. But even in Germany, where it seems to have been well known up into recent times, the hoopoe is mentioned less and less frequently.

It is my impression that it occurs only in such nineteenth and twentieth century writers as are "close to the soil."

In the modern vernacular proverb, "It is an ill bird that fouls its own nest," we have, then, a paroemiological formulation of a belief or beliefs which derive from classical, Graeco-Roman sources by way of medieval ecclesiastical and "scientific" writers. Ultimately, however, the belief in the malodorous characteristics of the hoopoe, which finds expression in our modern European proverb, seems to rest on oriental, Egyptio-Semitic lore. For there is strong likelihood that the allusion to the feter in the nest of the hoopoe in Aristophanes' *Birds* is an allusion to something not commonly known in Greece at that time. E. Oder suggests rather convincingly that the Athenians were not very well acquainted with this bird, else they would have made more of its stench.<sup>24</sup> He claims that nowhere in their literature do they mention the noisome odor of the hoopoe.<sup>25</sup> In this, I think, Oder errs. To me, the passage in the *Birds* loses all significance if one rules out the allusion to the offensive smell of the nest. But the fact remains that the Athenians do not make much of this trait which elsewhere is one of the first traits to be noted. And for this reason, the statement in Aelian, *Hist. Anim.* XVI, 5, becomes significant: this story (about the hoopoe; it has nothing to do directly with the stench emanating from the bird and its nest) has come to the Greeks from the Orient, and one must not think of the European hoopoe as mentioned in this oriental story, but of the Indian hoopoe, previously described by Aelian.<sup>26</sup> This remark of Aelian's indicates, rather late, it must be admitted—Aelian belongs in the latter part of the second century A. D.—that there was knowledge of the introduction of hoopoe lore from the Orient into Greece. There is, however, this difficulty that the story to which Aelian refers, while it is a hoopoe-story, has nothing to do with the hoopoe as the, or an, ill bird that fouls its own nest. It has to do with that other very important bit of hoopoe lore, the filial piety of the hoopoe, a trait which seems diametrically opposed to that of the uncleanness of the bird. The one characteristic is a vice and surrounds the bird with mephitic stench, while the other characteristic is a virtue and envelops it with the odor of sanctity, in the tradition of the Egyptians, the Arabs, and the peoples of medieval Chris-

<sup>24</sup> E. Oder, "Der Wiedehopf in der griechischen Sage," *Rheinisches Museum*, N. F. XLIII (1888), 541-56, esp. p. 550.

<sup>25</sup> J. van Leeuwen, *o. c.*, pp. 267 f. with note 1 on p. 268.

<sup>26</sup> J. van Leeuwen, *o. c.*, pp. 268 f.

tian Europe and Byzantium."<sup>27</sup> *And it is this story of the filial piety of the hoopoe which, according to Aelian, was introduced into Greece from the Orient.* Does not the one story preclude the other, or one belief cancel what is apparently a denial of the belief?

I had for a long time assumed that filial piety was one trait of the hoopoe and that its dirty habits were another, that both existed side by side, as happens not infrequently in popular belief. For this reason, I did not connect these two bits of hoopoe lore one with the other. I permitted them to have being separately. I was inclined to demand oriental origin for both, but, as it were, two separate oriental origins—two oriental sources whence flowed two parallel streams into the Graeco-Roman world and on into medieval Europe.

I am now convinced that there is only one oriental source for the two traditions. And for this reason, I am even more certain than before that the modern European proverb, "It is an ill bird that fouls its own nest," has its roots in the Egyptio-Semitic Orient. *This one oriental source I find in the story of the burial of the hoopoe's mother in the head of the young hoopoe.* This story is told in order to praise the filial piety of the young bird, to explain the origin of the fetor of the hoopoe, and, incidentally, also that of the hoopoe's crest.<sup>28</sup> It is really the filial piety of the hoopoe which causes the infamous stench to cling to it.

This assertion rests on the story told *ca.* 870 A. D. by Ibn Koteiba, while writing the biography of the Arabic poet Umajja ibn Abi ṣ Ṣalt, who died nine years after the Hegira. There the following verses, a part of a *Kamil* by Umajja ibn Abi ṣ Ṣalt, are recorded:

Nubila erant et caligo densaeque tenebrae:

Prodiit en matris corpore onustus epops.

Lecticam cristae praebebant, donec haberet

Credi cui posset sarcina cara locum.

At frustra petiit finem requiemve laboris:

Gestat gestabitque hoc pietatis onus.<sup>29</sup>

"Nebelgewölk und Finsternis und ein Wolkenergusz, zu den Zeiten, wo der Wiedehopf seine Mutter ins Leichentuch hüllte und auf die Suche ging [var, sich verproviantierte],

um ihr eine Ruhestätte zu bereiten und sie da zu bestatten:

<sup>27</sup> See *The Hoopoe*, chap. III, The Hoopoe, an Exponent of Filial Piety, pp. 22-29; M. Ludwig Keimer, *o. c.*, pp. 325 f.

<sup>28</sup> See *The Hoopoe*, chap. I, The Crested Bird, pp. 1-10.

<sup>29</sup> J. van Leeuwen, *o. c.*, p. 267.

da richtete er ihr auf seinem Hinterkopf das Grab auf, indem er ein weiches Lager

bereitete. Dann erhob er sich mit seiner Last zu den Vögeln [oder: mit den Vögeln], seine Mutter tragend, ohne sich zu krümmen

Unter ihrer Last, und so lief er, sich als Sohn mit seiner Last aussöhnend, und man vermiszt nicht die braune Forbe seines Rückens.

Und man sieht ihn schwerbelastet schreiten unter ihrem Totenbett, solange er geht und solange die Zeitläufe sich ablösen."

Schulthesz, the author of the German translation of the Arabic verses, adds: "Die Legende erklärt den Gestank, der dem Wiedehopf vom Nest anhaftet," and J. van Leeuwen, from whom the Latin paraphrase is quoted, cites Ibn Koteiba as observing, "ferunt enim upupam matris morte functae corpus in capite collocasse, donec locum sepulcro idoneum inveniret; ibi autem mansisse corpus crista abdutum, causamque hanc esse tetri odoris quem upupa solet spargere."

Here, then, we have the "explanation" of the stench of the hoopoe. This stench was something new in the nostrils of the Athenians. It came to them from the Orient. They passed it on, in their (pseudo) scientific writings, just as they preserved in their poetry the story of the burial of the bird parent in the head of the young bird. The only changes which Aristophanes—it is he who alludes to the stench of the hoopoe in his *Birds*, and it is he who tells the story of the filial piety of a bird in the same play—makes, are in the name of the bird: he changes the hoopoe into a crested lark (the hoopoe is a crested bird!), and in the sex of the parent: it is the father bird who dies and is buried."

<sup>30</sup> Friedrich Schulthesz, "Umajja ibn Abi ṣ Salt. Die unter seinem Namen überlieferten Gedichtfragmente gesammelt und übersetzt," *Beiträge zur Assyriologie und semitischen Sprachwissenschaft*, ed. Friedrich Delitzsch-Paul Haupt, VIII, Heft 3 (Leipzig, 1911), p. 26, verses 5 ff. [the passage in Arabic, poem no. XXV], p. 85, lines 9 ff. [translation]; p. 84 has an introduction to the legend of the hoopoe and additional references. Cf. E. Power, S. J., "Umayya Ibn Abi-S Salt," *Mélanges de la Faculté Orientale*, I (Beyreuth, 1906), no. 5, pp. 197-222; esp. pp. 200, 220-222; de Goeje, *Ibn Qutaiba, Liber Poesis et Poetarum* (Leyden, 1904), pp. 279 f. (Arabic only). I hereby wish to acknowledge gratefully the kind assistance rendered me in connection with the Arabic material by Professor Martin Sprengling of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.

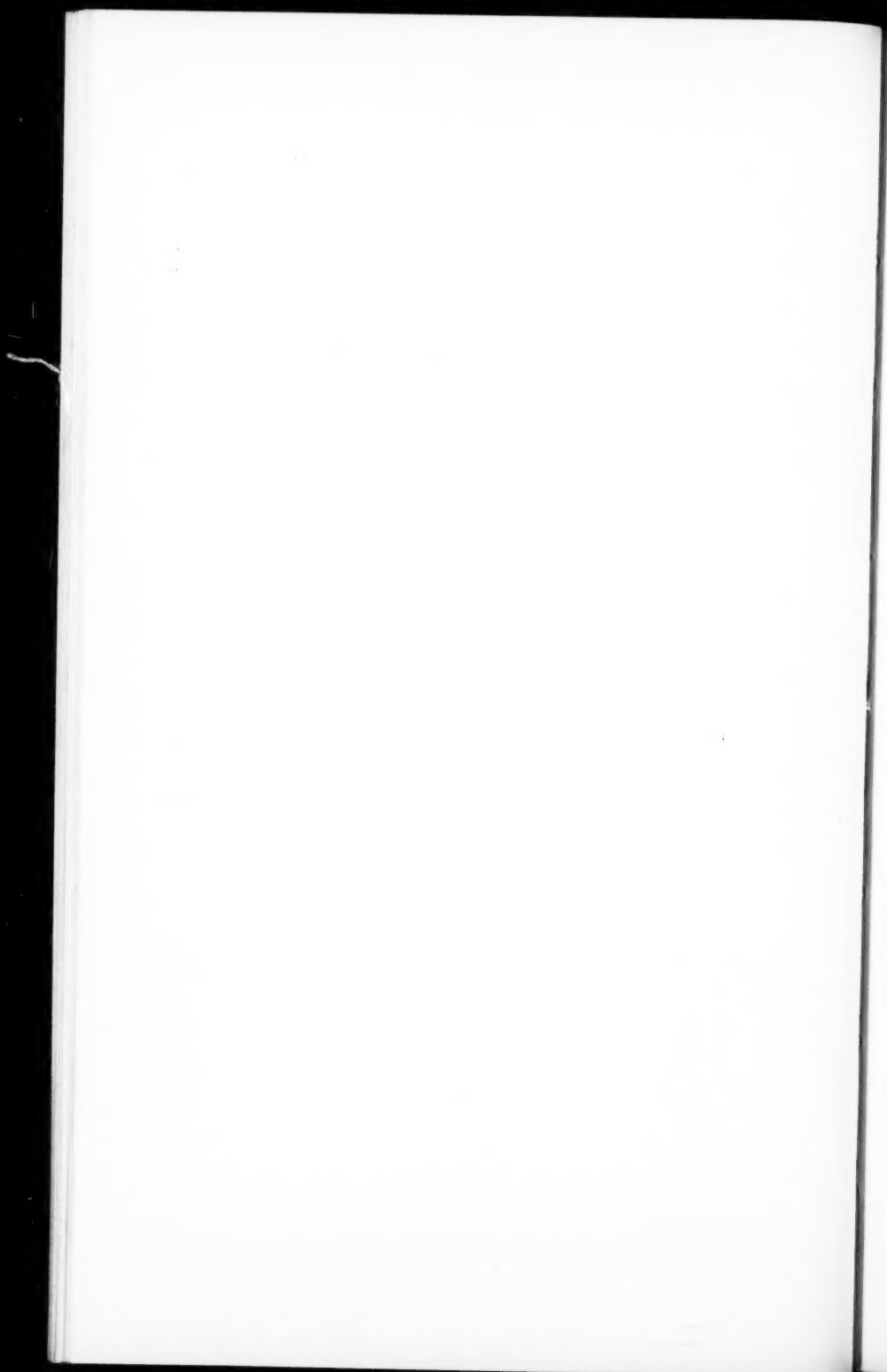
<sup>31</sup> *Birds*, vv. 471 ff. J. van Leeuwen, *o. c.*, p. 268, note 3, cites "another" head burial, Theocritus VII, 23. He denies that this is a head burial and claims that the scholium on the passage is wrong. To me the interpretation of the ancient commentator is an additional proof for the acquaintance with this legend. On the Aesopian fable concerning the burial of the parent bird in the head of the crested lark, which Aristophanes retells, and on the Theocritus-scholium see also C. E. C. Schneider (ed.), *Fabulae Aesopicae a Francisco de Furia Florentino . . . collectae* (Leipzig, 1810), no. 415, p. 168;

It is a long flight from Yemen to England and Iceland. On the way, the filial piety and the stench of the hoopoe which used to be united as cause and effect in one oriental story, became separated into two unrelated parts. One of them, the tradition concerning the filial piety of the hoopoe, came to an untimely end in the sixteenth century. The other lives on in the proverb, "It is an ill bird that fouls its own nest."<sup>28</sup>

*The University of Chicago.*

Claudius Galenus, *de simplicium medicamentorum temperamentis ac facultatibus*, ed. by C. G. Kühn (Medicorum Graecorum opera quae exstant, XII [Leipzig, 1826]), Lib. XI, cap. 37, pp. 360 f.; A. Gronovius (ed.), *Aeliani de natura animalium* (Heilbronn, 1765), p. 1110 [his reference to Cruquius' commentary on Horace's ode 12 of Book IV is somewhat misleading; Cruquius explains there the "fine feathers" of the pheasant into whom the young prince Itys has been transformed; see *Q. Horatius Flaccus cum commentariis etc.*, ed. by Cruquius (Leyden, 1597), p. 242]; Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft* XXIX, col. 312 (O. Stein, "Indien bei Megasthenes") and *IA'*, coll. 101 f. (W. Schultz, "Rätsel" von "Ungeboren," der seinen Vater oder seine Mutter auf dem Kopfe trägt). On the migration of the (Arabic) story concerning the head burial to the African tribe of the Soroko see Albert Wesselski, "Alters-Sinnbilder und Alters-Wettstreit," *Journal of the Czechoslovak Oriental Institute* IV (Prague 1932), no. 1, pp. 6-8. The reference to Wesselski I owe to the kindness of Professor Archer Taylor. As a *curiosum* I cite Bochart, *o. c.*, III, p. 115: *Iam vide, lector, praeclaram metamorphosim upupae in alaudam, cuius auctor Pandectarius: Alauda (inquit) Arabice est upupa avis. Imo Arabice alauda vox est nihili. Sed is ex alhudhud (the Arabic article al plus the Arabic name of the hoopoe hudhud) fecit alaudam. Sic Athenienses de alauda fabulari, quod de upupa Brachmanes observat Aelianus Historiae libri decimi sexti capite quinto.*

<sup>28</sup> It is possible that the story of the filial love and of the head-burial of the hoopoe was originally told, not of the hoopoe, but of the fabled phoenix, and was then transferred to the hoopoe whose description is not unlike that of the phoenix in some texts. On some of the phoenix lore bits of traditions concerning the sacred scarabaeus may have become superimposed, and thus may have been brought about the change from the original sweet odor of the phoenix to the odor of dung which is associated with the *sacer scarabaeus* and which now clings to the hoopoe in popular tradition. See J. van Leeuwen, *o. c.*, pp. 269 f.





## RIDDLES FROM SOUTHERN INDIANA

by Paul G. Brewster

The following riddle collection was made during the summer of 1938, at which time the writer was collecting folklore in the southern half of the state. Grateful acknowledgment is herewith made to Indiana University for a financial grant and for other assistance.

- 1        As I went through a field of wheat  
          I found something good to eat;  
          It wasn't flesh, it wasn't bone,  
          But I kept it till it walked alone.<sup>1</sup>

(egg)

- 2        White as snow, but snow it ain't;  
          Green as grass, but grass it ain't;  
          Red as blood, but blood it ain't;  
          Black as ink, but ink it ain't.<sup>2</sup>

(blackberry)

- 3        Go all around the house all day,  
          Gape for your bones all night.<sup>3</sup>

(shoes)

- 4        First green and then yaller,  
          All guts and no taller.

(pumpkin)

- 5        Little feet, long legs, short thighs,  
          Bald head, and no eyes.<sup>4</sup>

(tongs)

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. JAFL, XLVIII, 322 (Tenn.); XXXVIII, 253 (Bermuda); XL, 287 (Negro); SFQ, I, No. 3, 40 (Tenn.); *Bealoideas*, IV, 146; Gutch and Peacock, *County Folk-Lore* V (Lincolnshire), 397; JAFL, XXXI, 68 (Canada).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. JAFL, XXX, 202; XXXIV, 32; XXXV, 111 (Louisiana); XL, 276 (Negro); XIX, 113 (Pennsylvania German—*black cherry*); SFQ, I, No. 3, 35; *Folk-Lore Journal*, VII, 260.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. JAFL, XXXV, 320 (Virginia); XXXIV, 31 (S. C.); XXXII, 389; XLVIII, 318 (Tenn.); McGregor, *Folk-Lore of the North-East of Scotland*, 82. For Italian versions, see *Archivio per lo Studio delle Tradizioni Popolari*, I (1882), 403; for Spanish, Demófilo *Collección de enigmas y adivinanzas*, No. 1058; for French, Bladé, *Proverbes et Devinettes populaires* . . . 222, and Rolland, *Devinettes et Enigmes populaires de la France*, 65-67; JAFL, XXVIII, 334 (New Mexican Spanish).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. JAFL, XXXIV, 28; XXX, 201; XXXV, 323 (Virginia); XLVIII, 320 (Tenn.); Gutch and Peacock, 399; McGregor, 80; FLJ, VII, 260.

- 6 Riddle ma riddle ma rocket;  
What a poor man throws away,  
A rich man puts in his pocket.  
(snot)
- 7 Four legs up and four legs down,  
Soft in the middle and hard all around.  
(bed)
- 8 Patch upon patch and a hole in the middle,  
Guess this riddle and I'll give you a fiddle.<sup>7</sup>  
(chimney)
- 9 Round as a biscuit and deep as a cup,  
All the king's horses can't pull it up.<sup>8</sup>  
(well)
- 10 Round as a biscuit, deep as a cup,  
All the Mississippi River can't fill it up.<sup>9</sup>  
(sieve)
- 11 Round as a biscuit, busy as a bee,  
Prettiest little thing you ever did see.<sup>10</sup>  
(watch)
- 12 As I went over London Bridge  
I met my sister Ann;

<sup>7</sup> Cf. SFQ, I, No. 3, 46; *Archivio per lo Studio delle Tradizioni Popolari*, I (1882), 400

Le crâture se li magna,  
I pôretti li butta via,  
I signori se li mette drento le saccoccie.

Bernoni, *Tradizioni popolari veneziane*, No. 30; Guastella, *Indovinelli di Modica, Chiamante e Comiso*, No. 204 (Sicilian); Bladé, 212; Demófilo, 345, 356, 367, 390

Una coseta de Dios divineta.  
Que lo rico lo recoje lo pobre lo tira.

JAFI, XXXI, 68 (Canada).

<sup>8</sup> Cf. JAFI, XXXV, 107 (Louisiana); XXXVIII, 284 (Barbados), 258 (Bermuda); XXXIV, 31; XXXII, 439; XLVIII, 322; XL, 287 (Negro); XLI, 479 (Bahamas); SFQ, I, No. 3, 37; JAFI, XXXI, 67 (Canada).

<sup>9</sup> Cf. JAFI, XXXV, 107 (La.), 312 (Virginia); XXXIV, 28; XLVIII, 320. Variant lines: "And I'll give you a gold fiddle" or "And I'll give you a cornstalk fiddle."

<sup>10</sup> Cf. JAFI, XXXIV, 27; XXX, 201; XXXII, 389; XXXV, 106 (La.), 312 (Va.); XXXVIII, 259 (Bermuda), 278 (Barbados); XL, 281 (Negro); XLI, 483 (Bahamas), 556 (Pennsylvania); XXXI, 67 (Canada).

<sup>11</sup> Cf. JAFI, XXXV, 105 (La.); XLVIII, 325; XL, 282 (Negro); SFQ, I, No. 3, 35.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. JAFI, XXXV, 105 (Louisiana), 320 (Virginia); XXXVIII, 279 (Barbados); XXXIV, 28; XXX, 201; XXXII, 389; XL, 281 (Negro); XLI, 471, 482 (Bahamas); SFQ, I, No. 3, 39.

I broke her neck and sucked her blood  
And let her body stand."

(bottle of wine)

- 13 Long, slim, and slender,  
Dark as homemade thunder,  
Keen eyes and peaked nose,  
Scares the devil wherever he goes.

(snake)

- 14 Use me right, I'm everybody,  
Scratch my back, I'm nobody."

(mirror)

- 15 Big at the bottom,  
Little at the top,  
Little thing in the middle  
Goes "flippety-flop." "

(churn)

- 16 Niddy niddy noddy,  
Two heads and one body."

(rolling pin)

- 17 Goes all around the house all day,  
Stands in the corner all night."

(broom)

- 18 Hitty Titty upstairs,  
Hitty Titty downstairs,

<sup>11</sup> Cf. JAFL, XXXIV, 24; XXX, 277; XXXII, 375; XLVIII, 324; XXXV, 318 (Va.); XXXVIII, 244 (Bermuda); XLVII, 85 (Ozarks); XLI, 556 (Pa.); XL, 278 (Negro); Gutch and Peacock, 397 (orange); McGregor, 76, 77. An Irish version (*Bealoideas*, IV, 145) runs as follows:

As I went through the gutter-gap  
I met my Uncle Davey.  
I cut his skull and sucked his blood,  
And left his body aisy.

Add JAFL, XXXI, 67 (Canada).

<sup>12</sup> Cf. JAFL, XXXIV, 86; XXXVIII, 258 (Bermuda); XXXI, 69 (Canada).

<sup>13</sup> Cf. JAFL, XXXIV, 325 (Virginia); XXXIV, 34; XXX, 202; XXXII, 390; XLVII, 322 (N. C.); XL, 277 (Negro); XXXI, 67 (Canada), 124 (Canada).

<sup>14</sup> Cf. JAFL, XXXV, 322 (Virginia); XXXVIII, 251 (Bermuda); XLVII, 320 (N. C.); XLI, 472, 474 (Bahamas). *Barrel* is often given as an answer.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. JAFL, XXXV, 312 (Virginia); XXXVIII, 256 (Bermuda); XLVII, 387 (Georgia), 88 (Ozarks); XL, 282 (Negro); XXXIV, 30; XXXII, 390.

You touch Hitty Titty,  
Hitty Titty bite you.<sup>14</sup>

(wasp)

- 19 Flat as a plate, crooked as a snake;  
All the king's oxen can't pull it straight."<sup>15</sup>

(stream)

- 20 Flat as a plate, crooked as a snake;  
I met a Westminster scholar;  
He took off his hat and drew off his gloves  
And bade me a very good morrow.  
What was his name?"<sup>16</sup>

(Andrew)

- 21 Two ducks before two ducks;  
Two ducks behind two ducks;  
Two ducks between two ducks;  
How many ducks are there?"<sup>17</sup>

(four)

- 22 Runs and never walks,  
Has a tongue but never talks."<sup>18</sup>

(wagon)

- 23 Black within, red without,  
Four corners round about."<sup>19</sup>

(chimney)

- 24 As I was going to St. Ives,  
I met seven men and seven wives;  
Each wife had seven cats;

<sup>14</sup> Cf. JAFI, XXXIV, 27; XXX, 206; XXXII, 389; XXXIV, 87; XLVIII, 324; XXXV, 111 (La.), 324 (Va.); XXXVIII, 276 (Barbados); XL, 288 (Negro); McGregor, 80. I have also heard *fire* given as an answer. In an Irish version (*Bealoidias*, IV, 145) the answer is *netles*. Add JAFI, II, 103 (N. C.—*hornet*).

<sup>15</sup> Cf. JAFI, XXXIV, 36; XLVII, 85 (Ozarks).

<sup>16</sup> Cf. JAFI, XXXV, 109 (La.), 313 (Va.); XXXVIII, 246 (Bermuda); XLVIII, 319; XXXIV, 37, 84 (British West Indies); XL, 279 (Negro); SFQ, I, No. 3, 42; McGregor, 77; Gutch and Peacock, 397.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. JAFI, XXXV, 322 (Va.); XXXVIII, 256 (Bermuda); XXXIV, 84, 110 (N. C.); XLVIII, 318; XLI, 556.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. JAFI, XLVIII, 319; XLVII, 81 (Ozarks); SFQ, I, No. 3, 40.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. JAFI, XXXV, 106 (La.); XXXVIII, 252 (Bermuda); XLVIII, 321; XLI, 555 (Pa.); XXXIV, 29; XXX, 206; XXXI, 68 (Canada).

Each cat had seven kits;  
Kits, cats, men, and wives,  
How many were going to St. Ives?"

(one)

- 25 As I went over London Bridge  
I peeped under London Bridge  
And I saw a man ———  
I'll be blamed if I ain't told  
his name five times over!

(I)

- 26 Little Nancy Etticoat  
In a white petticoat  
And a red nose;  
The longer she stands,  
The shorter she grows."

(candle)

- 26-b Little Nancy Netty Goat  
Dressed in a white petticoat;  
The longer she stands,  
The shorter she grows;  
And when she dies,  
She leaves a black nose.

- 27 If a body met a body in a field of beans,  
Can a body tell a body what a body means?

(rabbit)

- 28 Long, slim, and slender,  
Tickles where it's tender;  
Two heads and nary nose,  
Tickles where the hair grows."

(comb)

<sup>25</sup> Cf. JAFL, XXXV, 109 (La.); XXXVIII, 264 (Bermuda); XLVII, 47, 84 (Ozarks), 324 (N. C.); XL, 286 (Negro); SFQ, I, No. 3, 44; JAFL, XIX, 117 (Pennsylvania German); Simrock, *Das deutsche Kinderbuch*, 355, No. 1377; Lewalter and Schlager, *Deutsches Kinderlied u. Kinderspiel*, 218; Rochholz, *Alemannisches Kinderlied u. Kinderspiel*, 218, No. 731 (how many feet in mill?); R. Petsch, "Neue Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Volksrätsels," *Palaestra*, IV (1899), 113 JAFL, XXIX, 494 (Porto Rico).

<sup>26</sup> Cf. JAFL, XXXV, 108 (La.); XXXVIII, 286 (Barbados), 252 (Bermuda); XLVII, 321 (Tenn. and N. C.); XXX, 202; XXXIV, 24, 110 (N. C.); XXXII, 440; XXX, 275; XL, 276 (Negro); XLI, 484 (Bahamas); Gutch and Peacock, 399; FLJ, VII, 261. Add JAFL, XXXI, 69 (Canada).

<sup>27</sup> This is a specimen of a group which may be called *double entendre* riddles. Apparently coarse and vulgar, or even obscene, they are shown by the answers to be

29

Riddle ma riddle ma ree  
Not on a tree,  
Where can it be?  
If you fail to guess this,  
I go free."

(knot)

29-b

All over the woods  
And not on a tree.

entirely innocent and inoffensive. One of the most interesting things about the type is its antiquity. Such American riddles as

The old man shook it and shook it;  
The old woman pulled up her dress and took it.  
(Man shook apples from the tree, and woman  
caught them in her dress)

and

John had a long thing. Mary had a hairy thing.  
John stuck his long thing in Mary's hairy thing.  
(Man sticking a hog)

are paralleled in suggestiveness by the following examples of Old English riddles taken from the 11th century *Exeter Book* (Part II, ed. W. S. Mackie. London: Oxford University Press, 1934. EETS, original series, 194):

p. 141, No. 44

A strange thing hangs by a man's thigh  
under its master's clothes. It is pierced in front,  
is stiff and hard, has a good fixed place.  
When the man lifts his own garment  
up above his knee, he wishes to visit  
with the head of this hanging instrument the familiar hole  
which it, when of equal length, has often filled before.

(key)

p. 141, No. 45

I have heard of something growing in a corner,  
swelling and standing up, raising its covering.  
At that boneless thing a proud-hearted bride  
grasped with her hands; a prince's daughter  
covered that swelling thing with her robe.

(dough)

p. 147, No. 54

There came a young man, where he knew her to be standing in a corner.  
The lusty bachelor went up to her from a distance, lifted up his own garments with his hands, and thrust something stiff under her girdle where she stood, wrought his will; both of them shook. The thane hurried; his good servant was sometimes useful; nevertheless, though strong, he always became tired, and weary of the work, sooner than she. There began to grow under her girdle what good men often love in their hearts and buy with money.

(churn—oven?)

For additional American examples, see JAFI, XLI, 555, No. 22; XLVII, 82, 87, 320, No. 1, 321, No. 3, No. 7, 324, No. 18, 323, No. 14, No. 16; XLI, 473, No. 20; 557, Nos. 45, 46, 47.

\* Cf. JAFI, XXXV, 317 (Va.); XLVII, 84 (Ozarks), 387 (Georgia); XL, 290 (Negro); XXXIV, 33.

- 30 As I went over London Bridge  
I saw a lady landing;  
I pulled off her head and sucked her blood  
And left her body standing.  
(blackberry)
- 31 Goes all over the field and leaves a white cap on every stump."  
(snow)
- 32 Down in the field is a little green house;  
In the little green house is a little white house;  
In the little white house is a little red house;  
In the little red house are a lot of little niggers."  
(watermelon)
- 33 Round at both ends and high in the middle."  
(Ohio)
- 34 Way over yonder on a hill  
Stands a big red bull;  
He eats and he eats,  
But he never gets full.  
(threshing-machine)
- 35 As I went by whitey, I looked over whitey, and I saw  
whitey in whitey. I called whitey to drive whitey out  
of whitey." (A white dog is called to drive a white  
cow out of a field of cotton.)
- 36 As I went up my stitters my stotters  
I looked out through my hingles my jingles  
And there I saw the hoggins  
Eatin' up all my hominy-noggins.  
I called fliggins to drive the hoggins  
Out of my hominy-noggins." (As I went  
upstairs, I saw through my glasses the hogs  
eating my potatoes. I called the dog to  
drive them out.)
- 
- \* Cf. JAFL, XXXV, 322 (Va.—*glove*); XLVII, 82 (Ozarks—*glove*); Gutch and Peacock, 398; JAFL, XXXI, 69, 133 (Canada).
- \* Cf. JAFL, XXXV, 322 (Va.); XXXVIII, 247 (Bermuda); XLVII, 86 (Ozarks); XL, 276 (Negro); XLI, 554 (Pa.); XIX, 113 (Pennsylvania German).
- \* Cf. JAFL, XLVII, 84 (Ozarks).
- \* Cf. JAFL, XXXV, 312 (Va.); XXXVIII, 247 (Bermuda); XL, 283-4 (Negro).
- \* Cf. JAFL, XXXVIII, 288 (Barbados); XLVII, 321 (N. C.); SFQ, I, No. 3, 44.



- 37 My mother sent me to your mother to borrow the  
whimble-bo, the whamble-bo, the iron body, the fore-  
body, the lillikalallecky whirligig.  
(flax wheel)
- 38 I have a little sister, they call her "peep-peep;"  
She wades in the water deep, deep, deep;  
She climbs up the mountain high, high, high;  
My poor little sister she has but one eye."  
(star)
- 39 Black upon black, brown upon brown,  
Three legs up and six legs down."  
(Negro carrying a pot on his head  
bottomside up, using a brown saddle  
and riding a brown horse.)
- 40 Black and white and red (read) all over."  
(newspaper)
- 41 England, Ireland, Scotland, Wales,  
Monkeys, rats, and wiggletails—  
Spell that with four letters."  
(t-h-a-t)
- 42 Runs, has eyes (i's), can't see.  
(Mississippi River)
- 43 As I went through the garden gap,  
There I met Dick Red-Cap;  
A stick in his hand and a stone in his throat,  
Guess this riddle and I'll give you a groat."  
(cherry)
- 44 What is it that no one wants, but when he has it,  
doesn't want to lose it?"  
(a bald head)

<sup>21</sup> Cf. JAFL, XXXVIII, 253 (Bermuda); XXXV, 325 (Va.); XL, 281 (Negro).

<sup>22</sup> Cf. JAFL, XXXV, 327 (Va.); XLVII, 88 (Ozarks), 324 (N. C.); XLVIII, 325; SFQ, I, No. 3, 38.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. JAFL, XXX, 201; XXXIV, 31, 88; XXXV, 325 (Va.); XLVII, 82 (Ozarks); XL, 287 (Negro); XLI, 554 (Pa.); SFQ, I, No. 3, 40; JAFL, XXXI, 64 (Canada).

<sup>24</sup> Cf. JAFL, XXXVIII, 262 (Bermuda); Rochholz, *op. cit.*, 221, No. 782; McGregor, 77.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. JAFL, XXXV, 108 (La.), 325 (Va.); XLVIII, 321; XLI, 555 (Pa.); McGregor, 80; Gutch and Peacock, 397; JAFL, XXXI, 69 (Canada).

<sup>26</sup> Cf. JAFL, XXXIV, 36; XXX, 204; XXXII, 389; XLVIII, 318; XXXV, 110 (La.), 320 (Va.); XL, 288 (Negro); SFQ, I, No. 3, 40.

- 45 What is it that stands uphill, stands downhill, stands still, and goes to mill?  
(a road)
- 46 What is it that is most used and least thought of?  
(dishrag)
- 47 Why does a miller wear a white hat?<sup>37</sup>  
(to keep his head warm)
- 48 All saddled, all bridled, all ready to go;  
I've told you his name three times, and still you don't know.  
(all)
- 49 Mary Elizabeth, Betty, and Bets  
Went over the river to hunt a bird's nest;  
They found a bird's nest with two eggs in;  
They took no eggs out, and left no eggs in.<sup>38</sup>  
(She took one egg. All names refer to the same girl.)
- 50 What runs all around the house and leaves only one track?<sup>39</sup>  
(wheelbarrow)
- 51 Horn ate horn in a high oak tree;  
If you fail to guess this, I go free.<sup>40</sup>  
(A man named Horn ate a piece of horn while sitting in an oak tree, hiding from pursuers.)
- 52 Crooked as a rainbow, teeth like a cat,  
Guess all night and you can't guess that.<sup>41</sup>  
(briar)
- 53 Goes all around the house  
And peeps in at the keyhole.  
(wind)

<sup>37</sup> Cf. Rochholz, *op. cit.*, 225, No. 859; Böhme, *Kinderlied u. Kinderspiel*, 699; Simrock, *op. cit.*, 346, No. 1308. Add JAFI, XXXI, 71 (Canada—baker); *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde*, V, 159 (Tirol).

<sup>38</sup> Cf. Gutch and Peacock, 402. Another version, almost identical with Indiana 49, is quoted from Brogden, *Provincial Words . . . Current in Lincolnshire* (1866). See also Simrock, *op. cit.*, 334, No. 1219. Add JAFI, XXXI, 124 (Canada).

<sup>39</sup> Cf. JAFI, XLVII, 386 (Ga.); XXXV, 313 (Va.); XL, 282 (Negro); XLI, 556 (Pa.); XXXIV, 28 (S. C.); XXX, 202; XXXII, 390; SFQ, I, No. 3, 38.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. SFJ, I, No. 3, 46; JAFI, XXXV, 112 (La.); XLVII, 86 (Va.).

<sup>41</sup> Cf. JAFI, XLVII, 83 (Va.); XXXV, 106 (La.); XL, 285 (Negro); XXXIV 35; XXX, 204.

- 54 Goes over the fields all day,  
Sits in the cupboard all night."  
(milk)
- 55 House full, yard full,  
Can't catch a bowlful."  
(smoke)
- 56 Riddle riddle as I suppose,  
All eyes and nary a nose.  
(potato)
- 57 What is it that is of no use to the wagon but the wagon can't  
run without it?"  
(noise)
- 58 Eleven boots hanging high,  
Eleven men came riding by;  
Each took a pair,  
And left eleven hanging there."  
(man named Each)
- 59 What is it that the more you take away, the larger it becomes?"  
(hole)
- 60 Why does a chicken cross the road?  
(to get on the other side)
- 61 Why does Uncle Sam wear red, white and blue suspenders?"  
(to keep his trousers up)
- 62 If I had a drove of sheep and the dogs came one night and  
took half I had and a half of one over half, and came back  
the second night and took half and half of one over half, and

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<sup>a</sup>Cf. JAFL, XL, 282 (Negro); XXXIV, 31 (S. C.); XLVIII, 320 (Tenn.); SFQ, I, No. 3, 38.

<sup>a</sup>Cf. JAFL, XLI, 476 (Bahamas); XL, 281 (Negro); XXXIV, 26 (S. C.); XLVII, 86 (Ozarks); XXXV, 313 (Va.); 106 (La.); XXXVIII, 278 (Barbados), 245 (Bermuda); SFQ, I, No. 3, 38. Cf. Zingerle, *Das deutsche Kinderspiel im Mittelalter*, 65.

<sup>a</sup>Cf. JAFL, XLVII, 81 (Ozarks).

<sup>a</sup>As will be noted, the wording of this riddle is incorrect. For other variants, see JAFL, XXXV, 316 (Va.), 108 (La.); XLVII, 387 (Ga.); 85 (Ozarks); XXXVIII, 279 (Barbados), 251 (Bermuda); XLI, 471, 478 (Bahamas), 553 (Pa.); XL, 280 (Negro); XXXIV, 32 (S. C.); XXX, 202; XXXII, 375; XLVIII, 319 (Tenn.); XXXIV, 32 (S. C.); SFQ, I, No. 3, 43.

<sup>a</sup>Cf. JAFL, XXXV, 316 (Va.); XXXVIII, 256 (Bermuda).

<sup>a</sup>Cf. JAFL, XLVII, 88 (Ozarks).

the third night half and half of one over half, leaving me one sheep, how many did I have at first?

(thirty-one)

- 63 As I went down the street, I met a big nigger and a little nigger. The big nigger was the little nigger's father, but the little nigger wasn't the big nigger's son.<sup>a</sup>

(The little nigger was the big nigger's daughter.)

- 64 Which is heavier, a pound of lead or a pound of feathers?<sup>a</sup>

(They are of equal weight)

- 65 What makes more noise than a pig under a fence?<sup>a</sup>

(two pigs under a fence)

- 66 Hickamore hackamore  
On the king's kitchen door;  
All the king's horses,  
All the king's men,  
Can't get hickamore hackamore  
Off the king's kitchen door.<sup>a</sup>

(sunshine)

- 67 The man who sold it couldn't use it; the man who bought it didn't need it; the man it was bought for didn't know it.<sup>a</sup>

(coffin)

<sup>a</sup> Cf. JAFL, XXXV, 110 (La.); XLVIII, 324 (Tenn.); SFQ, I, No. 3, 41; Simrock, *op. cit.*, 349, No. 1331; Lewalter and Schlager, *op. cit.*, 227, No. 908.

<sup>a</sup> This type of riddle is very common in America. For German versions, see Simrock, 343, No. 1290; Lewalter and Schlager, 223, No. 820.

<sup>a</sup> Cf. JAFL, XIX, 118 (Pennsylvania German): Simrock, 343, No. 1286.

<sup>a</sup> Cf. JAFL, XLI, 553, No. 7 (Pa.); XLVII, 79 (Tenn., N. C.), 84 (Ozarks); XXXVIII, 281 (Barbados), 254 (Bermuda); XXXIV, 29 (S. C.); XL, 281, 282 (Negro); XXXV, 108 (La.), 316 (Va.); Gutch and Peacock, 398.

<sup>a</sup> Cf. JAFL, XLI, 478, No. 72 (Bahamas); McGregor, 79; *Archivio per lo Studio delle Tradizioni Popolari*, I (1882), 404

Chi la fa, la fa per vende',

Chi la compra, no' l'adopra,

Chi l'adopra, no' la vede.

(La cassa da morto)

Corazzini, *I componimenti minori della letteratura pop. italiana*, 333; Bernoni, p. 12; *Archivio per lo Studio delle Tradizioni Popolari*, II (1883), 11, 578 (Bologna); Roland, 119-120

Celui qui le fait, c'est pour le vendre,

Celui qui l'achète, ne s'en sert pas,

Celui qui s'en sert, ne le voit pas.

(Un cercueil)

- 68 Humpty Dumpty sat on a wall,  
Humpty Dumpty got a fall;  
All the king's horses, all the king's men  
Can't put Humpty Dumpty back again.<sup>55</sup>  
(egg)
- 69 If I had twenty sick (six) sheep and one of them died, how  
many would I have left?<sup>56</sup>  
(nineteen or twenty-five)
- 70 I walked over London Bridge and yet walked under.<sup>57</sup>  
(A dog named "Yet" walked under)
- 71 Riddledy riddledy right,  
Where was I last Friday night?  
The winds blew dry and I was high,  
I looked for one, and here came two,  
One with a pickaxe, one with a hoe,  
One to dig and one to throw.<sup>58</sup>  
(A man had an assignation with a girl.  
Two of her male relatives learned of  
it, and determined to kill and bury him.  
He escaped by hiding in a tree.)

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Pitré, *Centuria di canni pop. sic.*, n. 96; Demófilo, N. 188

El que la hace, la hace cantando,  
El que la busca, la busca llorando,  
El que la disfruta no la vé.  
¿Que es?—Caja de muerto.

JAFL, XXIX, 436-437 (Porto Rico); XXXI, 71 (Canada); *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde*, VI, 277; V, 156 (Tirol), 397

Der es macht, der will es nicht;  
Der es trägt, behält es nicht;  
Der es kauft, der braucht es nicht;  
Der es hat, der weiss es nicht.

<sup>55</sup> Cf. JAFL, XXXIV, 25 (S. C.); XXX, 206; McGregor, 78; JAFL, XXXI, 123 (Canada); *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde*, V, 152; VI, 415 (Schleswig-Holstein); *Ur-Quell*, 1, 170, 187.

<sup>56</sup> Cf. JAFL, XL, 292 (Negro); XLI, 553 (Pa.); XXXVIII, 263 (Bermuda); XXXV, 326 (Va.); XXXIV, 36 (S. C.), 84 (British West Indies—56 sheep).

<sup>57</sup> Cf. JAFL, XL, 279 (Negro); XLI, 476 (Bahamas), 553 (Pa.); XXXVIII, 281, 249 (Barbados); XLVII, 387 (Ga.), 84 (Ozarks); XXXV, 109 (La.), 320 (Va.); XXXIV, 25 (S. C.); XXX, 202; SFQ, I, No. 3, 43 (Tenn.). The concealing of the answer within the riddle is a very common feature of English and American forms, as Professor Boggs (JAFL, XLVII, 325, note) has pointed out. For additional examples in the present collection, see Nos. 20, 25, 29, 48, 58.

<sup>58</sup> Cf. JAFL, XL, 284 (Negro); SFQ, I, No. 3, 49 (Tenn.); Gutch and Peacock, 325-326. This is a specimen of what Redfield (SFQ, I, No. 3, 46) calls a "riddle-romance." The Indiana version is unique in that it is the lover, and not the lady, who

- 72 Four upstanders, four down-hangers,  
Two lookers, two hookers,  
And a switchabout.<sup>97</sup>

(cow)

- 72-b Two lookers, two crookers, two fly-flappers,  
Four walkers, four hang-downers, and a switchabout.

University of Missouri.

saves his life by concealing himself in a tree. Usually the explanation given is that the girl climbs the tree to hide from her lover, whom she has seen digging her grave, and that she tells this riddle in his presence later. Add JAFL, II, 103 (N. C.); XXXVIII, 372 (Micmac).

<sup>97</sup> Cf. JAFL, XLVIII, 322; XXXV, 111 (La.), 319 (Va.); XXXVIII, 247 (Bermuda), 284 (Barbados); XLVII, 87 (Ozarks); XXV, 230 (Mexico); XLI, 475, 481 (Bahamas); SFQ, I, No. 3, 37 (Tenn.). The Mexican version reads:

Un horno de pan,  
Cuatro pilares,  
Dos espanta-gentes  
Un espanta-mosca.  
An oven,  
Four pillars,  
Two man-frighteners,  
One fly-frightener.

An Irish variant (*Bealoideas*, IV, 144) runs as follows:

Four steady standards,  
Four diddle-diddle-danders,  
Two crooks, two lookers,  
One lick and a switcher.

Cf. also *Archivio per lo Studio delle Tradizioni Popolari*, I (1882), 404ff.

Du' lucenti,  
Du pungenti,  
Quattro zoccoli  
È 'na scopa.  
(il bue)

Bernoni, No. 25; Corazzini, 310-311; Schneller, 253; Pitré, *Saggio d'Indovinelli tosc. ined.*, n. 31; Demófilo, 58, 286, 347, 382.

Dos torres altas,  
Dos miradores,  
Un quitamoscas,  
Y cuatro andadores.

Rolland, 23-24 (contains also a Norwegian variant); Bladé, 197; Ive, *Canti pop. istriani*, 300; Molinaro, *Canti del pop. nap.*, 6; *Archivio per lo Studio delle Tradizioni Popolari*, II (1883), 580 (Bologna).

For German forms, see Rochholz, 207-8; Böhme, 681, note; Lewalter and Schläger, 400-401. A good discussion, with references, will be found in Heusler, "Die alt-nordische Rätsel," *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde*, XI, 117. See also Müllenhoff, *Märchen und Sagen aus Schleswig*. Einl. XII. Add ZdvfV, 151; VI 276 (Italian); XX, 83; Grundtvig, *Gamle danske Minder*, I, 223; JAFL, XXIX, 479 (Porto Rico).





## FUNERAL BALLADS OF THE KENTUCKY MOUNTAINS

by Marie Campbell

In pioneer days it was often impossible to have a minister present at the burial services, so it became the custom to bury the dead without ceremony and then have the funeral preached whenever a preacher happened to ride through the settlement. This custom survives today in Kentucky mountain communities which I know. Even though a minister, *preacher* to mountain folk, may be available, it is the custom to have a simple burying when a person dies and then call a funeral meeting after at least one planting and harvest have passed since the burying. Sometimes years pass between the burying and the funeral meeting and frequently the same funeral meeting serves for several of the dead in a family. The following item appeared in *The Mountain Eagle*, early in August of 1933.

### FUNERAL NOTICE

On the third Saturday and Sunday in August, funeral services will be held for the four deceased wives of J. C. Brown, at the old family cemetery on Dry Fork, a few miles out of Whitesburg. That those interested may know who these wives were, we mention them: 1st Easter Candill, 2nd Polly Mullins, 3rd Louisa Candill, 4th Maggie Smith. At the same time services will be held in memory of five deceased children. Ministers of the old Regular Baptist Church are invited.<sup>1</sup>

And, of course, relatives and friends for miles around come to these funeral meetings, so they become real social occasions. They are usually held in the late summer and early fall when the crops do not need attention and the creeks run low. If the weather is good, the Sunday service is held in the graveyard; if not, "folks takes to the meeting house." Usually several preachers take their turns at sermonizing and the service is indeed lengthy with "a heap of preaching and singing of a mort of funeral ballads."

These funeral ballads which are a part of the services at mountain funeral meetings seem for the most part to be simply old hymns which have been attracted to funeral services and which years of usage have established as part of funeral tradition. So rigid is custom that only

<sup>1</sup>*The Mountain Eagle* was a county newspaper published weekly at Whitesburg, Kentucky, the county seat of Letcher County. The editor, for many years, was Mr. N. M. Webb, a mountain man, but he told me in November, 1936, that he had sold his paper. The above notice appeared early in August, 1933, and I attended the funeral meeting mentioned in the notice.

rarely are hymns which are felt to be funeral ballads sung elsewhere. Like the "hymn tunes" they are preserved only in the memories of the mountain folk from whom they were "took down in writing." Most of the funeral ballads here presented were copied from my own memory as I heard them sung at funeral meetings. Mountain folk are superstitiously reluctant about singing such songs except when actually in attendance at a funeral meeting.

The eleven ballads given here are, of course, not the entire stock of songs used at mountain funerals but they are representative of such songs used as a part of funeral services in Letcher and Knott Counties, Kentucky.

Comfort and consolation seem not to be the dominant note in the funeral ballads. The emphasis is on the certain approach of death and the equally certain doom of sinners. Such consolation as is offered is usually that of reunion with departed relatives and friends in heaven and of the comforts of heaven as a place of rest to which "you've got to walk that lonesome valley." The stern tone of some funeral ballads and the plaintive note of others fit into the mountain people's philosophy of death more satisfyingly than hymns of a more kindly and cheerful nature would do.

#### FUNERAL BALLAD

This ballad was popular for funeral meetings of men who died leaving widows and children. It was copied from my memory as I heard it sung at funeral meetings in the vicinity of Gander, Kentucky, during 1933 and 1934.

My head and stay he's called away,  
And I am left alone.  
My husband there who was so dear  
Is fled away and gone.  
Hit breaks my heart from him to part,  
For he treated me so kind.  
Where can I go to ease my woe,  
Or ease my troubled mind?  
Naught can I find to ease my mind  
In things all here below,  
For earthly things they make me sad  
And make some more my woe.  
Who'll tend the corn now he is gone?  
And feed the younguns ten?  
The Lord will help in his own time,  
And to me some one send.

## MY HEAD AND STAY

This more complete version of the preceding funeral ballad was copied from memory after I had attended a number of funeral meetings at Gander, Kentucky, and neighboring mountain communities in the summer and early fall of 1933. To quote Kelly Combs, an old mountain man of Gander, Kentucky, this version "hit's more pure and not changed up sich a heap."

My head and stay is called away,  
And I am left alone.  
My husband dear, who was so near,  
Is fled away and gone.

It breaks my heart, 'tis hard to part  
With one who was so kind.  
Where shall I go to heal my smart,  
Or ease my troubled mind?

In wisdom's ways we spent our days,  
Much comfort we did find.  
But he is gone, in dust he lays,  
And I am left behind.

Naught can I find to ease my mind  
In things which are below,  
For earthly toys do vex my joys,  
And make some more of woe.

But I'll repair to Jesus, where  
I'll ease my troubled breast,  
To Christ above, who is my joy,  
And to eternal rest.

And, oh that He would send for us,  
And call my spirit home  
To worlds of rest among the blest,  
Where troubles never come.

## ATTEND, YOUNG FRIENDS

Kelly Combs said he learned this song at camp meetings when he was young and "tom-catting around." An old mountain preacher, Henry Caudill of Blackey, Kentucky, verified the statement that the song had belonged first to camp meetings and had come to be used at funeral meetings "to skeer up sinner folks."

Attend, young friends, while I relate  
The danger you are in,  
The evils that around you wait  
While subject unto sin.

Although you flourish like a rose,  
 While in its branches green,  
 Your sparkling eyes in death must close,  
 No more will they be seen.  
 In silent shades you must lie down,  
 Long in your graves to dwell.  
 Your friends will then stand weeping round,  
 And bid a long farewell.  
 How small this world will then appear  
 At that tremendous hour,  
 When you Jehovah's voice shall hear,  
 And feel His mighty power.  
 In vain you'll mourn your days are past.  
 Alas! Those days are gone.  
 Your golden hours are spent at last  
 And never will return.

#### IF I COULD BE LIVING

This selection was a part of the funeral meeting at the old Gent graveyard in the summer of 1933, for the mother and several children of Will Jones, a middle-aged man who lived near Gander, Kentucky. His mother's funeral meeting had been neglected for more than thirty years and Will was at last making up for his negligence.

If I could be living when Jesus comes,  
 And could know the day and the hour,  
 I'd love to be standing by mother's tomb,  
 When Jesus comes in his power.

#### Chorus:

It will be a wonderful happy day,  
 Up there on the Golden Strand,  
 When I can hear Jesus, my Savior, say,  
 "Shake hands with your mother again."  
 I'd like to say, "Mother, this is your boy  
 You left when you went away,  
 And now, my dear mother, it gives me great joy  
 To meet you again today."  
 There is coming a time when I can go home,  
 A glorious crown to wear,  
 Then I can see Jesus on His throne  
 In that bright city so fair.  
 There'll be no more sorrow or pain to bear  
 In that home beyond the sky.  
 What a glorious thought, when we all get there  
 We shall never say goodbye.

## CHILDREN TALKING UP IN HEAVEN

This funeral ballad was also sung at the funeral meeting for Will Jones' mother and children. It was sung so slowly that most of it was remembered until an opportunity came to copy it. Cornie Jones, Will's daughter, made corrections on the version made from memory.

"Oh what do you think the angels say?"  
 Said the children up in heaven.  
 "There's a dear little girl coming here today.  
 She's almost ready to fly away  
 From the earth we used to live in.  
 Let's go and open the gates of pearl,  
 Open them wide for this new little girl,"  
 Said the children up in heaven.  
 "For on earth do you hear them weep?"  
 Said the children up in heaven.  
 "For the dear little girl has gone to sleep.  
 Oh why do they weep for the little girl?"  
 Said the children up in heaven.  
 "She shall play with us in the golden street,  
 She had grown too fair and grown too sweet  
 For the world we used to live in."

(Remaining stanzas forgotten.)

## A SOLEMN CALL TO ALL

Uncle Henry Caudill, an old mountain Regular Baptist preacher of Blackey, Kentucky, said this funeral ballad came from "an old time book of hymn tunes" that a preacher left at his mother's house when he was a boy. He said it was learned by the family to sing at his pap's funeral meeting. It was frequently sung on such occasions in the mountains. I copied it from memory in the summer of 1933 after I had heard it at several funeral meetings.

Death! What a solemn call to all,  
 A sudden judgment to us all.  
 Death takes the young as well as the old,  
 And in the winding sheet doth fold.  
 I spied a youth the other day,  
 Just in his prime, he looked so gay.  
 His time is come, his days are past.  
 And he must go to the grave at last.  
 His father and mother standing round,  
 With tears a-falling to the ground,  
 Saying, "Father, father, pray for me,  
 For I must go to eternity."

His faithful sisters standing by,  
 Saying, "Brother, brother, you're going to die,  
 You've trifled all your days away,  
 And now you must go to eternity."

And when the corpse was brought to the ground  
 His friends and relations standing round,  
 With sorrowful heart and troubled mind,  
 To think his soul's in hell confined.

#### DEPARTED LOVED ONES

Aunt Lizbeth Fields had this ballad "all picked out for my own funeral meeting" and she also had "done picked out the text for the main preacher to set out preaching on." Aunt Lizbeth was an old woman who often came from a neighboring community to Gander, Kentucky, to attend "meeting" or to visit relatives. She always came by the settlement school to visit with the teachers when she was in the neighborhood of Gander. On such a visit in the summer of 1933 she sang this song for me between intervals of discussing the satisfaction of making one's funeral arrangements. She said she could not remember when her family had not "knowed that air ballet pine-blank like I done sung hit," and she herself was eighty-one.

Is it wrong to wish to meet them  
 Who were dear to us in life?  
 Shall we check the rising sadness,  
 Since they are freed from toil and strife?

I've a mother up in heaven,  
 And, oh tell me, if you will,  
 Will my mother know her children?  
 Will she recollect them still?

Does she watch me from those windows  
 While I'm on this distant shore?  
 Will she know when I am going?  
 Will she meet me at the door?

I've a father, too, in glory,  
 And, oh tell me, if you know,  
 Will my father know his children,  
 When we meet on Canaan's shore?

In that land are saintly children  
 Who are happy now and free.  
 Shall we ever reach those mansions  
 All those darling ones to see?

## AMONG THE SILENT DEAD

Aunt Lizbeth also included this ballad in the plans for her funeral meeting. Aunt Lizbeth wanted the pronouns changed to the feminine at her funeral meeting so the song "would belong to be sung for a woman person." She sang it that way.

Far from afflictions, toil, and care  
The happy soul has fled.  
The breathless clay shall slumber here  
Among the silent dead.

The gospel was her joy and song,  
E'en to her last breath.  
The truth she had knowed so long  
Was a supporting death.

Now she resides where Jesus lives,  
Above the dusty here.  
Her soul was hastened off to bliss,  
When she had lingered here.

But we are hastening to the tomb.  
Oh may we ready stand.  
Then, dearest Lord, do take us home,  
To live on the Golden Strand.

## YOU MUST DIE AND WEAR THE SHROUD

I copied this ballad as it was sung at a funeral meeting for five persons in the old Dixon graveyard, near Gander, Kentucky, in August, 1933. I could not catch the last stanza because a baby began crying near me and drowned out the words of the song.

Oh ye young, ye gay, ye proud,  
You must die and wear the shroud.  
Time will rob you of your bloom,  
Death will drag you to your tomb.  
Then you'll cry, "I want to be  
Happy in eternity."

Will you go to heaven or hell?  
One you must and there to dwell.  
Christ will come and quickly too.  
I must meet Him, so must you.  
Then you'll cry, "I want to be  
Happy in eternity."



## SIX FEET OF EARTH

One of Boney Gent's boys, who attended the settlement school at Gander, sang this funeral ballad for me in the fall of 1930. I myself have not heard it sung at funeral meetings. Boney and his family lived on The Mountain near Gander and had never been outside the mountains to see "the world and its ways."

I'll sing you a song of the world and its ways  
 And the many strange people you meet,  
 From the rich man who's rolled in his millions of gold  
 To the poor struggling wretch on the street.  
 But a man, though he's poor and in tatters and rags,  
 We should never affect to despise,  
 But think of the old adage, remember, my friends,  
 That six feet of earth makes us all of one size.  
 There's the rich man with thousands to spare, if he likes,  
 But he haughtily holds up his head,  
 And who thinks he's above the mechanic who toils  
 And is honestly earning his bread.  
 But his gold and his jewels he can't take away  
 To the world up above when he dies,  
 For death levels us all and to all of us shows,  
 That six feet of earth makes us all of one size.

## A LIGHT IN THE WINDOW

Mountain people say they like this ballad for funerals because it "minds" them of "Lamp Lighting Time in the Valley" except that the latter is "here on earth, and tother one air up in heaven." I copied this version after attending a number of funeral meetings up and down creeks and "hollers" of Gander and other mountain neighborhoods during the summer and fall of 1933.

There's a light in the window for thee, brother,  
 There's a light in the window for thee.  
 A dear one has moved to the mansions above;  
 There's a light in the window for thee.

Chorus:

A mansion in heaven we see,  
 And a light in the window for thee.  
 A mansion in heaven we see,  
 And a light in the window for thee.  
 There's a crown and a robe and a harp, brother,  
 When from toil and from care you are free.  
 The Savior has gone to prepare you a home  
 With a light in the window for thee.

Then on, perseveringly on, brother,  
Till from conflict and from suffering you are  
free.

Bright angels now beckon you over the stream,  
There's a light in the window for thee.

Oh watch and be faithful and pray, brother,  
All your journey o'er life's troubled sea.  
Though afflictions assail you and storms beat  
severe

There's a light in the window for thee.

YOU'VE GOT TO WALK THAT LONESOME VALLEY

This ballad, unlike other funeral ballads, is sung on other occasions than funeral meetings. It is frequently heard at singings, and I copied it from memory after a Sunday evening singing at the settlement school at Gander, Kentucky, in October of 1933.

You've got to walk that lonesome valley,  
You've got to go there by yourself.  
There's no one here can go there with you,  
You've got to go there by yourself.

My mother was sick and she lay dying,  
You've got to go there by yourself.  
She called me to her bedside crying,  
"You've got to go there by yourself."

"You've got to walk that lonesome valley,  
You've got to go there by yourself.  
There's no one here can go there with you,  
You've got to go there by yourself."

My mother's dead and now she's lying  
In the graveyard by herself.  
And it's me that now am crying,  
"You've got to go there by yourself."

You've got to walk that lonesome valley,  
You've got to go there by yourself.  
There's no one here can go there with you,  
You've got to go there by yourself."

*Tamms, Illinois.*

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## THE NATIONAL FOLK FESTIVAL—ITS PROBLEMS AND REASONS

by Sarah Gertrude Knott

One of the first problems of the National Folk Festival was to cut through the maze of available material down to what seemed to be the most distinctively American expressions. Several attitudes might have been taken. We might have included the folk expressions of the varied racial groups, including recent immigrants, whose rich cultures have poured into our country from many lands. Since our language and laws are English, and there is much to be found here of British origin, we might have featured only these traditions. We have done neither. We have taken the "middle ground" course, featuring especially the heritages from Great Britain, including the traditions of the American Indian, recognizing the Spanish and Mexican of the Southwest, as well as French and German groups. These Old World traditions transplanted here give us a richness that comes only with time. But the picture of our folk life today would not be complete without the contributions of the Negro, lumberjack, sailor, miner and cowboy. Their expressions reflect the vitality of a new country whose folksongs, music and dances are still in the making. Both the old and the new have a place in the cultural, educational, recreational life of today.

Long before the coming of the white man to the Western World, the Indians roamed the wildernesses at will, knowing no law except the lore of their people. They had no songs, music or dances except those that grew up out of their own nature in answer to their needs. Certain ceremonials, closely identified with nature, were used here a thousand years ago, as they are used now, as prayers to the Great Spirit for fertility of soil, as they planted the crop. As it matured they needed them, then as now, in their supplications for rain. Since those early days as the seasons rolled around and harvest time came, they have used them in Thanksgiving. When the white man came to take over the Indian's land, he tried to substitute his own ways for the ancient customs of the Indian. He not only saw no advantage in the preservation of the age-old link or the mystic significances of their symbolism for himself, but tried to crush out of the Indian's life his love for his own traditions. He did not altogether succeed. At long last the attitude of the white man is changing. Our government policy, which encouraged the Indian to go the white man's way, has been reversed.

Mr. John Collier, Chief of the Office of Indian Affairs, believes that we could, if we would, gain much of cultural and practical value from the aborigines whose customs and traditions form a link between pre-historic days and our own. He says, "But there are two ways to look at the cultural contribution of one race to another. One is to look only at the present and at that part of the culture of the contributing race, which the receiving race has been unable to take unto itself. The most profound of the Indian's cultural contribution has not been accepted by the white man because he was not ready for them. Perhaps he will get ready in the years to come."<sup>1</sup>

To give a glimpse of the Indian traditions in the United States the National Folk Festival has included on its programs in different years, the Kiowas, Cherokees, Blackfeet, Navajos, Sioux, Winnebago and Pottawatomies, who have brought dances, songs, and such ceremonial customs as they are willing for the white man to see. We have had the War Dance, once used to train the young braves for war or to celebrate victory; the Eagle, Buffalo, Humming Bird and Owl Dances, which reflect, even in their names, the Indian's closeness to the natural forces around him; the Feather Dance, a part of the fire ceremony; the Yei-be-chi Dance, a ceremonial for the sick; Night Chants, Gift Songs and lullabies used by Indian mothers as sleepy-time songs—no one knows how long. We have seen the Kiowas and the Five Civilized Tribes in Oklahoma, the Pueblos in New Mexico and the Cherokees in North Carolina, with their traditions used around home fires. We have heard from the lips of wise old Indians, legends of how the earth was made, why the flowers bloom and how the ocean came to be—legends taught to Indian children from infancy.

Through it all, we have glimpsed a reflection of the true nature of the Indian. In seeing what his traditions mean to him and sensing what they might mean to us, we have felt justified in including them on the festival programs. We hope their inclusion might further the interest and help to hasten the day when the white man will be ready to receive the rich cultures of the Indian, which, in the remaining pueblos of the Southwest, the passing of the centuries has touched lightly and changed little. Anthropologists, sociologists and other specialists are making intensive study of the folk ways of the Indian, and of various peoples, in the hope of arriving at a better understanding of this specific race and

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<sup>1</sup> *Washington Post* Series on Background for the National Folk Festival, February 26, 1939.

the human race in general. Their living traditions must have value for the present. Why wait to read their findings from a book in some future day, when folkways shall have given way to standardization? Frances Densmore said, "The scientists of the future will find pottery and baskets in the graves of Indians, but they will not find songs. The Indian takes his songs with him when he goes to the Land of the Great Spirit."<sup>2</sup>

Since the days when the Conquistadores led their forces into the Southwest and Onate succeeded in establishing the first permanent Spanish settlement in 1598, the Southwest has felt the strong influence of the Spanish cultures which have intermingled with those of the Indian in an interesting blending. The missionaries who came with the early Spanish colonists to Christianize the Indians, brought to them some of the cultures of Spain of the 16th Century. They were influenced in turn by the rich, natural cultures of the Indian. These religious pioneers left their mark in many of the traditions which exist today, after four hundred years. Mission music, with its Gregorian flavor, which the padres brought, is still used traditionally by both Christianized Indians as well as descendants of the early Spanish conquerors.

Since the very beginning of Spanish colonization traditional folk-plays of miracle and morality variety have flourished, "Los Pastores," "Our Lady of Guadalupe," "Los Posados" and others of Spanish or Mexican origin have been handed down from one generation to another, until they are a very real part of the lives of the people of the Southwest. We study the old miracle and morality plays which served Central Europe centuries ago, yet outside of the Southwest, few people know that plays of this type in their living form can be found in our own country. Each festival program has included one.

The Spanish ballads of the 16th Century with their stories of kings, of heroes and deeds of valor are still to be found, though through the years many have been adapted to better express life in the Southwest. While cherishing the old forms of balladry, each generation has created its own. Folksongs are still being made. All the varying moods of the temperamental Spanish and Mexican people are expressed in them: despair, gaiety, conquest, political intrigue, sunset on the desert, heroes and beautiful señoritas. They reflect the old days in Spain and the new one here. The Spanish folk-dances have also been handed down,

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sometimes adapted to Indian and cowboy rhythms, as they have become Americanized, and are used to meet the need for dance in this fiesta land. These still-growing, flourishing traditions of the Spanish and Mexican people of the Southwest, American now for several centuries, add color, life and variety to the folk scene that the National Folk Festival could not fail to recognize. They have been included.

Of course, no one doubts that the Anglo-Saxon expressions should predominate at the National Folk Festival. The Indian traditions and those of the Spanish, as well as French and German groups, can be found only in certain sections of the country. They are used principally by the people to whom they are traditional. But the folksongs, music and dances, which our forefathers brought from Great Britain, have been carried by our people from the Atlantic coast line, as they migrated into every section of the country, and have been adopted by other racial groups within our borders.

Irresistible old English, Scottish and Irish tunes have rung out on every festival program as fiddler after fiddler has been given a chance. There were old tunes from the British Isles and new ones made here—"The Irish Washer-Woman," "Soldier's Joy," "Eighth of January," "The Road to Zircon," "Pop Goes the Weasel," "The Hornpipes," and others including "Turkey in the Straw," which, Carl Sandburg says, "is as American as Andrew Jackson, . . . or corn-on-the-cob." Groups from more than a dozen states have been on hand with the American square dance, "Ocean Wave," "Forward Four," "The Grapevine Swing," "The Shoo Fly," "Chase the Rabbit" and many other figures known to all square dancers. "Weevily Wheat," "The London Bridge," "Paper of Pins" and other singing games used by children and grown-ups for generations on both sides of the ocean have appeared on every program. The new ones of our own have not been left out. Old World ballads of unrequited love, kings and palaces, as found in Child and other collections, have come to life on the programs. Among them were "The Twa Sisters," "Mary o' the Wild Moor," "Come All Ye Fair and Tender Maidens," "The Lowlands Low," "Black Jack Davie" and "Merrie Golden Tree." Early religious songs of the "shaped note" variety, "Morning Trumpet," "Bound for Caanan" and familiar old "Amazing Grace" have had their places.

Other ballads and folksongs based on the old patterns with roots here, have told of our own daring heroes or expressed incidents in our national life, or conditions under which our people have lived. There has been

plenty of proof that we have our own folksongs. Miners from Pennsylvania and West Virginia have their mining songs and jigs; Negroes from Florida, Texas, Maryland, Missouri and other sections have brought their spirituals, lining hymns, work songs, oyster shucking pieces, crab picking tunes, and other songs. Sea-chanteys used as work-songs of the sea were sung by "before-the-mast" sailors from Staten Island and New London, Connecticut. The old days on the Erie and Ohio canals lived again, as one of the few remaining skippers from Ohio sang from his collection of more than five hundred of the old songs, about life on the canals. Songs made by the cowboy have depicted that chapter of the Southwest when large herds of cattle roamed the prairies, where now great cities stand. Lumberjacks from Michigan and Wisconsin have brought to the festival a breath of the north woods as they sang the songs made before the great pine forests disappeared. The patterns of the British Isles inheritance could be seen running through many of these expressions which have grown up here.

But the scene is different from that which Cecil Sharp found here twenty-five years ago, when he came to collect old dance-tunes and ballads that English-speaking peoples have as a common bond and mutual heritage. The isolation which so long kept the ballads, music and dances of Queen Elizabeth's day in England, in much their original form, on the coast line and in the Appalachian and Ozark regions, has gone. Good roads winding their ways up hill and down into the valleys have taken the place of the mountain paths so recently traveled only by foot or mule-back, as the fiddlers or dancers in the community found their way from one mountain cabin to another for the Saturday night square dance, where people cut off from the world had to make their own recreation. Here Mr. Sharp found the singing of the Old World songs almost as "universal as speaking," by people of every age. But the radio has brought strange new music into the mountains which until recently knew only the traditional. With the picture show, radio and other forms of newer entertainment now within the easy reach of most, many of the forms that served an older, simpler America will pass unnoticed unless stimulus is given to those who carry in their hearts these fine traditions. Our recreational leaders use the dances taught from books, or bring in "foreigners" to teach, while right around them they have traditions and natural heritages upon which to draw.

Scholars, preceding and succeeding Mr. Sharp, for a number of years have been energetically classifying, analyzing and recording the folk-

songs, music and dances, believing that, with the changed conditions of life, in a few generations many of these early traditions will be lost. While this scholarly program is, of course, of greatest importance, it is not enough. It should not stop there. Recording saves the expressions for history but fails to pass on the vital spark which oral transmission gives. Many of the expressions with their roots in the remote past, also have a place in the present and should be projected into the future through use now. They should not be put into libraries and labeled, "Here lies the record of an out-lived past." Howard Odum in his *The Negro and His Song* said, "That which is a product of our racial life should not be blown away with the changing environment, but should remain to enrich the soil from which it sprang." We are talking much now about conservation of forests, restoration of lands and lengthening the span of life. It seems that the conservation of the surviving folk heritages, as well as revivals, should claim our attention now, along with other conservation and restoration programs.

Mr. Sharp had vision beyond collecting. Douglas Kennedy, who succeeded him as Director of The English Folk Dance and Song Society in London, said, "In 1910 he was assured by many of his friends that England had no national tradition of music comparable to the Scots and the Swedes; in fact there was nothing in the way of folk dance that could be classified as typically English. To some extent they were proved right. Cecil Sharp found nothing which was only or wholly English, but he found Yorkshire dances and Oxfordshire dances and Northumbrian dances. He also found dances common to these English counties and to Scotland, Denmark and Scandinavia. In fact, he found the old native dances of the races who had colonized England long ago, still maintaining their identity but only just alive and faintly kicking. It was a case of administering first aid and then giving a new lease of life. For Sharp himself it involved recording, then teaching, then showing." His interest in "teaching and showing" accounts for continued use and revival found in the many English folk festivals and societies in England today. With conditions of life conducive to keeping our Anglo-Saxon heritages in their purest forms changing, it seems wise to extend their use wherever possible, as England did.

As civilization marches on, we do not know how many of the rich traditions of every kind we now have will remain to enrich the cultural life of tomorrow. We do know that this is a significant age of transition, the last link between the early days and a new more standardized America. While these expressions are vital forces in our lives they

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<sup>a</sup> *Washington Post* Series on Background for the National Folk Festival, March 5, 1939.

should be incorporated in the roots of our culture. People of every nation have at one time or another seen the value of its folk art to national life. Often, however, they have failed to recognize its worth until the traditional expressions in survival forms have passed.

The folklore of every nation passes through three stages, according to Dr. Van Der Ven Ten, Holland authority, who spoke at the International Folk Dance Festival in London three years ago. In the first stage the folk expression is at its prime, no outside influence has touched it; in the second, it is on the down-grade because of outside influence, but still has sufficient vitality to respond to stimulus; in the third, there is no life in the roots on which to build revival. We are in the second stage today. Houses can be restored, land brought back, but revival of folksongs, music and dances, without traditional transmissions lacks the original spontaneity and joy which is their chief charm.

In the past few years many of the European nations have been interested in encouraging the survival of folksongs, music and dances. Where they are dying out, efforts in revival have been started. Three years ago, eighteen European nations, a number using revivals, came together for the first International Folk Dance Festival in London. Last May a similar International Festival in which eight nations participated was again held in London. Sweden will be host to such a festival next August. England has had for a number of years its English Folk Dance Festivals, sponsored by the English Folk Dance and Song Society; Russia and Germany have their folk movements encouraging revival of the traditional, as well as developing a movement expressive of today, giving their people a fine activity that makes them happier and binds them closer together with the universal ties of folksong, music and dance; Ireland has its Folk Tale Association; Hungary its National Festival and France its Folk Museum. Mexico, Bolivia and other South American countries have movements definitely tied into national life. Leaders at the International Folk Dance Festival in London recognized the value of comparative study, made possible by national and international folk movements. They felt their need in social life today. They saw a possibility of creating better understanding among European nations and of developing more sympathy among varied racial groups living in one nation. These objectives are recognized among those of the National Folk Festival.

Few nations, if any, have as many living folk expressions as we have in the United States, and none of them has the variety which the varied racial groups give us. A nation with a great folk art deserves a great classic art built on these roots. We believe that the National Folk Festival, and other festivals held throughout the country, in calling attention to the rich traditional heritages, might perhaps create greater

interest among creative artists and inspire classic music, art, dance and drama based on the American pattern. Ours is a young nation; our literature is in its infancy. The pictures with the coloring of our country have not been painted; they too are in the making. We have only glimpsed the possibilities of the great music to come from the employment of America's distinctive rhythms in composition. When our national art is created, if we run true to the history of other nations and ages, much of it must be based on the folksongs, music, and dances which express the heart-throbs of our people.

The simple folksongs, music, and dances, which served as the chief recreation in early colonization days and during our nation's early struggles, are needed now in these restless times to help us keep our balance. We are pioneering in many respects again, searching for a better way of life in a civilization much more complex than our fathers found here. We need a song as they did. This is one of the ages when people themselves must play a part. Folksongs, music, and dances made by unknown and unsung creators, used by the folk trained only by tradition, fit admirably into the need of the present. They furnish one of the finest types of recreational activities because of their universal appeal. They reflect, as nothing else could, life as it has been lived in all its moods, in these varied but united states.

Specialists, interested at first in recording texts only, have broadened their interests to include music as well. If they could go further and include "showing," while the expressions are still vital forces, there is no reason why there might not be a transition from the unconscious traditional art to a more conscious one, keeping much of the sincere honesty and simplicity of expression that characterizes the folk. Those who view with concern the wide-spread interest in the use of traditional material in festivals are alarmed at the inevitable. Festivals are a result of the needs of today, not causes of the interest. In other days, in other nations, the wide-spread interest in art, classic or folk, has given us the "golden ages." Traditional forms that live are used by each generation as the generation sees fit.

Frederic Allen Whiting, Jr., in an article in *Magazine of Art*, published by the American Federation of Arts in Washington, said, "A concern with tradition does not imply merely a reverence for the past and a learning from it—it also implies adding to it."<sup>4</sup> What we take from the past and add to it, or take from it, according to what is necessary to make it serve us best in the present, gives to that tradition the substance of today and strengthens it for tomorrow.

*Washington, D. C.*

<sup>4</sup> February, 1939.

## MEETING OF THE SOUTHEASTERN FOLKLORE SOCIETY

The fourth annual meeting of the Southeastern Folklore Society took place on the invitation of the University of Tennessee at Knoxville, Tennessee, March 31 and April 1, 1939. Four regular sessions and one business session were held.

Following is the complete program of speakers, officers, and committees.

The Fourth Annual Meeting  
of the  
Southeastern Folklore Society  
of the United States  
Reed Smith, President  
University of Tennessee  
Knoxville, Tennessee

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March 31 and April 1  
1939

FRIDAY, MARCH 31

2:00 P. M. Registration: Ayres Hall 217.

2:30 P. M. Ayres Hall 217.

Welcome: President James D. Hoskins, University of Tennessee.

Response: Dean Reed Smith, University of South Carolina.

Address: Mr. Charles Seeger, Assistant to the Director of the Federal Music Project, "Contrapuntal Style of the Three Voice Shape Note Hymns: To What Extent Does It Show the Influence of Oral Tradition?"

Address: Dr. B. A. Botkin, Folklore Editor, Federal Writers' Project, "Folklore for Whom?"

4:15 P. M. Reception: Dean and Mrs. Fred C. Smith, 1637 West Cumberland Ave., for the Southeastern Folklore Society and friends.



- 8:15 P. M. Andrew Johnson Hotel.  
Lecture: Dr. James M. Carpenter, Duke University, "English and Scottish Ballads in Their Native Haunts" (illustrated with slides and singing). Admission, fifty and twenty-five cents.

## SATURDAY, APRIL 1

- 9:30 A. M. University of Tennessee Memorial Gymnasium.  
Address: Mr. Ralph Walker Townsend, "A Mountaineer Looks at His Own Speech."  
Folk Dances: Directed by Miss Dorothy Koch, University of Tennessee, Group Selected from Beginning Folk Dance Classes.  
Address: Dean Edwin R. Hunter, Maryville College, "Studying Proverbs."  
Spirituals: Professor Newell Coleridge Fitzpatrick, Director of Music at Knoxville College.  
Address: Professor George P. Wilson, Woman's College of the University of North Carolina, "Some Southern Folk Remedies."  
Folk Dances: Directed by Mr. L. L. McDowell, Smithville.
- 1:00 P. M. Annual Luncheon: Andrew Johnson Hotel (seventy-five cents).  
Address: Miss Gertrude Knott, Director of the National Folk Festival, "Why a National Folk Festival?"  
Address: Professor Willem van de Wall, University of Kentucky, "The Sociological Significance of Music."  
Ballads: Professor Maurice Matteson, State Teachers College, Frostburg, Maryland, "An Interlude of Ballads."  
Business Meeting.  
Executive Committee of the Southeastern Folklore Society:  
President: Reed Smith, University of South Carolina.  
Past President: Maurice Matteson, State Teachers College, Frostburg, Md.  
Vice-President: Edwin C. Kirkland, University of Tennessee.



Secretary-Treasurer: R. M. Grumman, University of North Carolina.

Editor of *Quarterly*: Alton C. Morris, University of Florida.

Committee on Local Arrangements from the University of Tennessee Philological Club and Department of English:

John C. Hodges

Edwin R. Hunter

Edwin C. Kirkland

Arthur H. Grossman

Kenneth Curry

John J. Elson

The high lights of the first day were the addresses of the three representatives of the Federal W. P. A. Project, Dr. B. A. Botkin, Mr. Charles Seeger, and Mr. Herbert Halpert; the delightful reception given by Dean and Mrs. Fred C. Smith of the University of Tennessee to the Society and its guests; and the interesting illustrated address of Dr. James M. Carpenter on his varied experiences in gathering ballads and folksongs in England and Scotland.

One of the most appreciated features of Saturday morning's session was a number of folk dances and play-party games presented by an attractive group of young people from Smithville, Tennessee, under the direction of Mr. L. L. McDowell, President of the Tennessee Folklore Society.

The luncheon session at the Andrew Johnson Hotel was also most enjoyable. Besides the speakers, among the friends and distinguished guests who were asked to stand and be recognized were Professor Edwin C. Kirkland, President-elect of the Society, and Mrs. Kirkland, Dean and Mrs. Fred C. Smith of the University of Tennessee, Dr. B. A. Botkin, Mr. and Mrs. Charles Seeger, Mr. and Mrs. Herbert Halpert, all of the Federal W. P. A. Project, Mr. and Mrs. Mellinger E. Henry of Ridgefield, N. J., and Professor J. Pullen Jackson of Vanderbilt University.

Miss Sarah Gertrude Knott, Director of the National Folk Festival, Washington, D. C., and Professor Willem van de Wall, Professor of Music at the University of Kentucky, were the two speakers. Each made an excellent, thought-provoking address. Professor Maurice Matteson, founder and first president of the Society, concluded the program by singing three traditional ballads which he had recorded in North Carolina and for which he had composed piano settings. Mrs. Matteson was his accompanist.

At the business sesesion the treasurer's report was read and discussed, and various suggestions were made for increasing the membership of the society and its influence and efficiency. Mr. Grumman, the secretary-treasurer, suggested that at the next meeting an exhibit be prepared of the various publications of the members. The time and place of the next meeting was left to the executive committee.

Officers for the ensuing year were elected as follows:

President—Professor Edwin C. Kirkland, University of Tennessee.

Vice-President—Professor Alton C. Morris, University of Florida.

Secretary-Treasurer—Mr. R. M. Grunman, Extension Division, University of North Carolina.

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